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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

IT is not our practice to introduce in this section, as a rule, notes about individuals. It is only fitting, however, that an exception to this rule should be made in the case of the recent retirement from academic life of Professor George M. Wrong, after thirty-five years of service in the chair of Modern History in the University of Toronto. Professor Wrong was the founder of this REVIEW. It is just thirty years since he published in 1897 the first volume of the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*. This volume, which was issued in a large edition in paper covers is now, it is curious to note, decidedly scarce. It was edited by Professor Wrong single-handed; but in 1897 Professor Wrong associated with himself Mr. H. H. Langton, the librarian of the University of Toronto, and under the editorship of Professor Wrong and Mr. Langton the *Review* continued publication for fifteen years. In 1911 the present managing editor of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW was made an associate editor, and with the exception of some years during the war, he continued to assist Professor Wrong and Mr. Langton in the editing of the *Review* until in 1920 the *Review* was changed from an annual into a quarterly, and renamed the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. As a member of the Board of Editors of the new REVIEW, Professor Wrong has continued to exert a guiding hand, and what measure of success the REVIEW has had is to be attributed in no small degree to his wise counsel and helpful criticism. Professor Wrong continues to be a member of the Board of Editors of the REVIEW, but his retirement from the University of Toronto, and

his consequent removal from close touch with University affairs, is an event which will undoubtedly be the subject of profound regret on the part of readers of this journal.

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The teaching of history is a question of perennial and widespread interest. Few will deny that the study of history in the schools may legitimately be expected to promote a sound patriotism, and undoubtedly there is something in the history of every country to inspire the pride and devotion of its citizens. But there are always those who seem to feel that the story must present an unbroken front of praiseworthy episodes lest patriotism be undermined, and that distortion or omission of facts may be ultimately necessary in order to preserve a stainless record of virtue. Opponents of this view must not necessarily be regarded as defending the shoddy iconoclasm which has too often in the recent past made pretensions to historical importance. Unfortunately, however, it seems futile to point out to fearful souls that a patriotism which requires to be bolstered up and hedged about by distortion of facts admits its own lack of self-confidence; and, indeed, breeds the very atmosphere which furnishes for the bitter iconoclast his *raison d'être*. Canada has not been troubled by these difficulties as much as has the United States, where recent years have brought forth a succession of clamorous groups demanding that, for one reason or another, text-books be purged, and especially that they be saved from the influence of scholars who have levelled their lances against long-accepted historical legends and prejudices. Curiously enough, the scholars are for the most part from families long established in the country; while the clamorous groups, so intent on the preservation of "patriotism", have more often than not been largely composed of the descendants of recent newcomers from foreign lands. It is, too, a strange though understandable fact that those most credulous regarding the opinion of the expert in other branches of knowledge are, at times, the first to reject with scorn the findings of the professional historian. Comparisons are, however, often most dangerous to those who make them, and Canadians may well beware of making them too complacently. Canada is entering on a period of economic and constitutional development where it seems probable that there will be increasing pressure in favour of writing history to suit the demands of this or that doctrine or group. A smug confidence that the battle against historical

obscurantism will not have to be fought in Canada is decidedly premature.

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In the issue of the REVIEW for last March there was published a list of graduate theses which had reference to Canadian history, political science or economics, and which had been recently completed or were in the course of preparation. In the near future a request for similar information will be sent to universities in Great Britain, the United States and Canada, and it is hoped that the response will warrant the publication of a second list in the next number of the REVIEW. These submitted for the degree of M.A. will be included as well as those leading towards other graduate degrees, and it is very desirable that the list should be as nearly complete as possible. Should the letter fail to reach some who can furnish useful information, their co-operation in communicating directly with the REVIEW would be greatly appreciated.

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In the first article of this issue Mr. A. Gordon Dewey of Columbia University has traced clearly the development and results of Canada's attitude regarding imperial relationships in the period preceding the war. The interest in Canada's rôle within the Empire makes this discussion especially timely. The agreement of the North West Company of 1790, contributed by Mr. H. A. Innis of the University of Toronto and hitherto unpublished, is valuable in throwing light on the changing partnerships during the early years of the Company's organization. Mr. F. M. Montresor of London, England, has contributed the document of contemporary notes on the Murray map, which is one of the most important sources of information on Canada just after the British conquest. The annual list of publications appearing in this number on Canadian archaeology and ethnology has been compiled by Mr. T. F. McIlwraith of the University of Toronto.

## CANADA'S PART IN THE BRITANNIC QUESTION

**P**UBLIC issues are not a product of spontaneous generation. Back of each mass movement, popular slogan, or display of "public opinion", there is a dynamic nucleus which plans and executes deliberately. The Federalists in the United States first established the government they needed, then utilized it for their purposes.<sup>1</sup> Their modern counterpart within the British Empire, the Imperialists, had a far grander vision, planned on a magnificently wider scale, battled against more terrific odds—and failed. They failed first, because, in the words of Burke, *opposuit natura*; second, because the most highly mobilized economic interests in the various parts of the Empire did not feel that interdependence which characterized the corresponding forces in the early days of the Republic, and hence they operated centrifugally; third, because the nationalistic elements within the Empire enjoyed a continuous leadership which exploited to the full the enormous strategic advantages of their position. The vicissitudes of this movement constitute the "Imperial Epic", which Britishers will doubtless view as the great epic of modern times. According to one's point of view, Sir Wilfrid Laurier stands as the hero or the villain of the piece; in either case he was, above all others, the nemesis of the Imperialists.

The Imperialists have been a much-maligned, much-misunderstood group of "visionaries". Their movement, it is true, arose as a protest against Little-Englandism, that school of thought exemplified by Cobden when he averred, "We shall be ruined by our foreign possessions," and by Disraeli when he exclaimed, "These wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years and are a millstone round our necks."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless they did not seek to re-establish the old colonial system, to make of the Empire, as Mr. Ewart would have us believe, "an aggregate of subject territories ruled over by a sovereign state."<sup>3</sup> Their aim was not

<sup>1</sup>See Charles A. Beard, *An economic interpretation of the constitution of the United States* (New York, 1914), and *Economic origins of Jeffersonian democracy* (New York, 1915).

<sup>2</sup>See R. L. Schuyler, *The climax of anti-imperialism in England* in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 36, pp. 537-60 (December, 1921).

<sup>3</sup>J. S. Ewart, *The kingdom papers* (Ottawa, 1912), No. 2, p. 26.

"British Ascendancy", but "Britannic Equality", the achievement by all the British nations of an equality of status like that enjoyed by the states in the American Union.<sup>1</sup> Their ambition, moreover, was consolidation rather than expansion, so that "Imperialism", as the term is used in the present connection, has no relation to the economic imperialism so familiar in contemporary parlance—however much the latter, in addition to the major interest, may have occupied their attention.

Imperialism and its objectives become easily comprehensible when we view it merely as a wider nationalism. To the Imperialist the whole Empire was his nation, and he aspired to equip that Empire with all the requisites of the modern, self-sufficient national state.<sup>2</sup> This ideal was embodied in a definite programme, integrated, logical, and seductive in its grandeur. The systematic efforts of Imperialists during the past generation to achieve the various elements in this programme have created the several issues which comprise the Britannic Question. On the spiritual side, they aimed "to substitute in every part of the Empire broad Imperial patriotism for the provincial spirit which tends to separation and disruption."<sup>3</sup> More concretely, their attempts to create a single representative government for the whole Empire raised the issue of imperial federation. This was the crown of their endeavour, for the establishment of such a government would have rendered imperial unity permanent and the Empire virtually impregnable; it would at the same time have furnished machinery for the most logical and effective realization of all their other objectives. Here also is recorded their most complete failure. A further desideratum was imperial economic unity. This focussed mainly upon the question of imperial preferential tariffs, but included numerous less important issues, such as the systematic exploitation of imperial natural resources, the organization of migration within the Empire, improvement of communications

<sup>1</sup>R. Jebb, *The Britannic Question* (London, 1913), *passim*. Although he has long believed imperial federation to be impracticable, Mr. Jebb should certainly be classed as an Imperialist. Neo-mercantilism and "British Ascendancy" have been characteristic of a point of view, distinct from that of the Imperialist, and now politically obsolete, which the present writer, for lack of a better term, dubs "Colonialist."

<sup>2</sup>This held true of the Imperialist wherever found—whether in the Mother Country or the Dominions. The "Nationalist", in contrast, looked upon his own particular part of the Empire as his nation and his first care. This division on the basis of outlook and major emphasis is apparent throughout all discussions of imperial problems.

<sup>3</sup>Jos. Chamberlain at Grocers' Hall, London (August 1, 1902), *Speeches*, C. W. Boyd, ed., II, 70.

in order to bind together the dispersed Sea Commonwealth, and several projects for effecting the greatest practicable uniformity in matters relating to commercial life. More insistent, and probably more immediately vital to the Empire than any other problem, was the necessity of securing whole-hearted participation in, and support of, a united policy in the matter of imperial defence and foreign relations.

Comparatively few in numbers, but strong in prestige and ability, the Imperialist leaders constitute the dynamic element in the evolution of the "Britannic Question". Almost without exception they took the initiative, missing no convenient opportunity of pushing their programme, by means sometimes direct, sometimes subtle, but always directed toward the creation of a general atmosphere of good-will, favourable to the reception of their ideas. Since the emotional factor is so important in the achievement of national unification, and the exigencies of common defence are most likely to evoke this element, it is not surprising that the years immediately succeeding the South African embroilment, and the period of the Great War itself, should mark the high points of Imperialist endeavour. In view of the fact, however, that the major issues were (whether admittedly so or not), settled prior to the recent conflict, the Imperialist drive of 1916-21 appears in retrospect to be somewhat of an anticlimax.

The odds against Imperialism were great. In addition to the circumstance that the contacts of the average British citizen, wherever he may be found, are normally too limited for him to acquire a truly Empire-wide outlook, and to render more than lip-service to the Imperialist ideal, the portentous legacy of Little-Englandism had to be faced. In Britain, Liberal historians had succeeded in establishing the repeal of the Corn Laws as one of the epochs in human progress, and this free-trade heritage, perpetuated through the medium of school text-books and the able efforts of Manchester business men, paved the way for the ghastly failure of imperial preference in the Conference of 1907. For half a century in Canada, and for shorter periods in the other Dominions, devolution had been the accepted tendency. Imperialism meant stemming this tide. The grant of self-government, especially fiscal autonomy, to certain colonies had permitted each of them to launch upon a course of independent economic development. This had promoted the growth of vested interests, which had become the best mobilized and most powerful forces in their economic and political life—and these forces were national-

istic.<sup>1</sup> Through the help of nationalistic history-writing, there had also been created a tradition of hard-won liberties, and a pre-occupation with the safeguarding of local autonomy rather than with the consideration of the ultimate destiny of the Dominions among the nations. This was intensified in the non-British population of Canada and South Africa by the suspicion of a racial ingredient in Imperialism, which accounts in large measure for Mr. Bourassa's intransigence, for the alliance of Laurier and Botha in the 1907 and 1911 Conferences against the Imperial Council projects of Mr. Deakin and Sir Joseph Ward,<sup>2</sup> and for the Canadian premier's suspicion of Sir Joseph's emphasis upon the need of preserving a distinctly British character in the population of the Dominions.<sup>3</sup>

The legacy of Little-Englandism was colonial nationalism. Its economic and political consequences were, owing to the longer period of their operation, and certain special circumstances, more firmly entrenched in Canada than in any other Dominion, and in Canada was created the permanent and least pregnable fortress of anti-Imperialism. The effect of priority in economic development was strikingly shown in the Ottawa Conference of 1894. At that period Premier Forrest of Western Australia still manifested complete willingness to fall in with imperial organization on a neo-mercantile basis. He declared:

The foreign trade of England is of the vastest importance to Australia. I look upon England as the great agent for receiving our raw material and distributing it, after manufacturing, throughout the world. It would be impossible for us to distribute our products without the assistance of England. . . . You will understand that in making these remarks I am in favour of a commercial union between England and her Colonies, a free trade one if possible.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, the Hon. George E. Foster took a stand which subsequently became recognized as the only basis upon which imperial economic reunion could be discussed. He said:

The time may come when we can negotiate a commercial reciprocity treaty with Great Britain. That time must certainly be deferred, however, until Great Britain puts duties upon goods

<sup>1</sup>e.g., The Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

<sup>2</sup>*Minutes of proceedings of the Colonial Conference, 1907* (London, 1907), cd. 3523, pp. 26-94; *Minutes of proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1911* (London, 1911), cd. 5745, pp. 36-75.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>4</sup>Colonial Conference, 1894, C. 7553, pp. 156-7.

which come into her country, on which she could give us some form of concession.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly Sir Wilfrid Laurier excused his opposition to Chamberlain's fiscal proposal in the 1897 Conference on the ground that it contemplated only complete free trade within the Empire.<sup>2</sup> In course of time all her sisters followed Canada's lead, and laid broad and deep the economic foundations of Dominion nationalism.

After the National Policy had achieved a permanent status in Canada and the forces it had generated had become too powerful to be gainsaid, the direction of public life was assumed by a party and a leader who surpassed their teachers as exponents of the political doctrines of English Liberalism. The one philosophy was the perfect complement of the other in the promotion of Dominion nationalism. Almost without exception the vindications of local autonomy at Imperial Conferences now came from the lips of Canadian representatives; nowhere in the outer Empire was this principle more firmly imbedded in popular thinking. There were, also, other elements in Canadian nationalism, which had been abetted rather than provoked by Little-Englandism. The tradition that colonial liberties had been wrung from an unsympathetic Home government had been exploited in full measure. American imperialism, moreover, had been a much more potent factor than Canadians were in the habit of recognizing. The heritage of successful resistance to three armed invasions from the south, and threats of a fourth, supplemented the tradition bequeathed by the Loyalist *émigrés*. By some idiosyncracy of politics, however, the enmity incident to the various jurisdictional disputes with their nearest neighbour focussed on the Mother Country. Emphasis upon her failure to secure the full Canadian claims, rather than upon the probable results had the colony been left to bargain alone, was probably quite natural, but the sequel was that such episodes promoted separation rather than closer contact with the ultimate source of aid.<sup>3</sup> The cumulative result of these various factors was that more issues had been raised and settled, and consequently more precedents established and clearly-defined views formulated regarding imperial problems, in the course of the Mother Country's relations with Canada than in the case of

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>2</sup>R. Jebb, *Studies in colonial nationalism* (London, 1905), 222-3.

<sup>3</sup>Similar but less pronounced results followed Australia's differences with the United Kingdom regarding German establishments in the Pacific.

any other Dominion. The turn of the century revealed in Canada all the elements of nationhood; there lacked only some provocation like that afforded by Imperialism to make this latent nationalism conscious.

In addition to being placed in the position of sponsoring policies which appeared to repudiate the accepted principles of imperial relationships and of Dominion development, the Imperialists laboured under other strategic handicaps. They were forced to take the initiative; the burden of proof lay upon them, and they were continually met by the argument that the existing situation was satisfactory, that there was nothing wrong with the Empire—no imperial problem in fact; whereas they clearly realized the (to them) disruptive implications in procrastination and the "policy of drift". Furthermore their objectives were interdependent. The concerted action in defence and foreign affairs which they visualized, might prove impracticable without a representative council to co-ordinate activity and an imperial fiscal system to supply the necessary funds. In their circumstances the "half-a-loaf" tactics of practical politics were peculiarly ineffective, yet the simultaneous presentation of all aspects of their ideal would appal by its magnitude. Hence, although the major issues were discussed in some guise or other at each Imperial Conference, the programme was disposed of piecemeal, and each specific proposal lay open to the rejoinder that the conditions requisite for its successful adoption were not present. The Nationalists took care that this should be the method of treatment. For instance, Sir Wilfrid was able to meet Sir Joseph Ward's imperial federation scheme in 1911 by a flank, rather than a frontal, attack. Utilizing the failure of imperial preference, he merely pointed out that it was proposed to establish a legislative body "with power to create expenditures and no power to create revenue . . . the proposal seems to me to be absolutely impracticable."<sup>1</sup> Rare indeed were such indubitable declarations of policy as Mr. Asquith's point-blank refusal to share with the Dominions any authority over the conduct of foreign affairs<sup>2</sup>—the chance of an early modification of absolute statements was too great. But in this way point after point was lost by the Imperialists without their ever being able to force a thorough consideration of the whole future of the Empire, or a comprehensive statement of policy from their opponents.

<sup>1</sup>Imperial Conference, 1911, Cd. 5745, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* 71.

The Nationalist opposition took full advantage of these handicaps. They realized that the continuance of the existing amorphous relationships and lines of development was their safest course, that time was with them, and that any forcing of issues was dangerous from their point of view. Hence, they sedulously evaded any definitive statement of their own objectives or examination of the Imperial problem. Rather they denied that such analysis was necessary, and that there existed other than intermittent and minor differences between the Home government and specific Dominions, which could readily be settled individually by conference and correspondence. They sincerely favoured the maintenance of the imperial tie, but they had in mind a type of relationship radically different from that visualized by the Imperialists. Accordingly they acclaimed Britannic unity upon all convenient occasions, but insisted on misrepresenting Imperialism as aiming to reduce the Dominions again to economic and political servitude,<sup>1</sup> and denounced all centralizing projects as courting early disruption. This accounts for Sir Wilfrid's lukewarmness towards each Imperial Conference, and the apparent lack of leadership among the Dominions which Canada displayed as regards submission of proposals for discussion at these sessions. This did not imply inactivity within the Conference itself, however. That a policy which seemed to be mainly one of negation could in the long run prove the most influential, was amply demonstrated by the outcome.

<sup>1</sup>Of Mr. Ewart's exposition of Imperialism nothing need be said here. This point is also illustrated by the following amusing colloquy during the course of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's report of how he rescued Canadian autonomy from Imperialist machinations at the Conference of 1907:

Laurier: When the Conference opened on the 15th of April, 1907, the main question before it was what were to be the relations of the parent state and the young daughter nations. Was it to be a centralization, or was it to be autonomy? There were many who believed that these relations should be based upon the principle that the young daughter communities should be simply satellites revolving around the parent state, but others there were who held—and in my estimation rightly held—that the proper basis of the British Empire was that it was to be composed of a galaxy of nations under the British Crown.

Foster: I do not want to interrupt my honourable friend, but is my honourable friend speaking now of the views held by the members of the Conference itself?

Laurier: I am speaking of views held inside and outside the Conference.

Foster: Then will my right honourable friend please mention the names of those who wished to make the daughter Colonies subordinates or satellites?

Laurier: I think I shall not gratify the curiosity of my honourable friend.

Foster: I do not think my honourable friend can.—*Canadian House of Commons Debates*, 1907-8, cols. 41-2; see also Foster's remarks in cols. 82-3.

It must not be inferred that the Nationalists were without suggestions on opportune occasions. By a process not unlike that by which the original model developed, they moulded a constitution for the British Commonwealth out of the viscous heritage of Little-Englandism. Their changes were not comprehensive and revolutionary like those projected by Imperialists. They were propounded here and there as the obvious corollaries of accepted practices—refusal was made to seem tantamount to a repudiation of the principles upon which Imperial relationships were based. Such tactics were not lost upon the opposition. For instance, when Sir Wilfrid, during a debate on the Alaskan boundary award, called for an extension of Canadian treaty-making power, Mr. Borden at once reminded him of his reply to Chamberlain of the previous year, that existing relations were completely satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> The Conservative leader used the same retort in 1908, when the government was boasting of the great advance it had achieved against strenuous opposition in the matter of the recent French treaty.<sup>2</sup> It was only a seeming inconsistency, however, for which they were upbraided. In retrospect the Nationalists are found to have moved steadily step by step towards the confederation—as opposed to the federation—of the Empire. Although the method pursued was doubtless that best calculated to achieve such an end, it does not appear that their aims were deliberate, conscious, and carefully worked out, as were those of the Imperialists. One might be justified in characterizing the evolution of the Commonwealth as the supreme example of British “muddling through.”

The development of the conduct of imperial foreign affairs perhaps best illustrates this process. First came fiscal autonomy, then diversity of economic interests, which soon showed itself in external contacts. Out of this grew Laurier's argument at the 1911 Conference for complete decentralization in commercial treaty relationships:

Now, when we recognize this primary fact that there is not absolute commercial unity but commercial diversity at this moment in the British Empire in so far as fiscal legislation is concerned, it is not difficult to follow the consequences of the Government in the United Kingdom making a treaty which suits its own views and its own requirements, but which will not suit the requirements of

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 1903, cols. 14814 ff.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 1907-8, cols. 3514-5.

Australia, or of South Africa, or of New Zealand, or of Newfoundland, or Canada. Therefore, the principle is no longer at issue; it has been conceded long ago, and it has been recognized that there should be that trade diversity or commercial diversity in the matter, not only of fiscal legislation, but the corollary of fiscal legislation — commercial treaties.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile devolution in the handling of local political questions, like the Alaskan dispute, or fisheries and boundary waters, was fitted into the same argument. The Home government perforce acceded in both respects, and the necessary readjustments in the conduct of negotiations and in the scope of treaties were gradually made. Stretching the analogy to cover issues of "high policy", which affected the whole Empire, took longer, but so the road was eventually opened to Locarno. Here again, in this vital field of imperial relations, the precedents were almost without exception Canadian-made. The reasons probably were the proximity of Canada to the United States, and the aloofness of the latter country from world politics. These led both to the raising of more issues than in the case of other Dominions, and to the possibility of settling them along the lines desired by Canada without appearing to endanger the safety of the Empire. In the case of Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, their foreign questions implicated major powers, hence they were more content to leave them in the care of the Mother Country.

Sir Wilfrid in his day was the outstanding exponent of Nationalist policies and strategy. So widely are his views on imperial relations now shared that none of his successors can boast a like preëminence. In the earlier period Nationalism was founded on Little-Englandism, and Laurier exemplifies the transplanting of the traditional principles of English Liberalism in their entirety to Dominion public life. True, he subdued the fiscal aspect of his tenets to domestic circumstances—yet it was Liberalism, hardly Imperialism, that inspired the British preference. It is rather a tribute to the doctrines themselves than a derogation from his sincerity in this regard to recognize that these principles made the best politics for a man facing the exigencies of a situation such as his. National unification and minority rights were next his heart. He stood between two militant wings. Suspicion of his zeal for the British connection might have left him little but Quebec; too much Imperialism on his part would have enabled

<sup>1</sup>Imperial Conference, 1911, Cd. 5745, p. 335.

Mr. Bourassa to steal his native province from him; either would have driven him from power and wrecked his aims. The British preference did not alienate the manufacturers;<sup>1</sup> it appeased both free-traders and Imperialists, and furnished him an excellent talking-point as regards the latter. His acceptance of the regional General Staff proposal satisfied those who sought military uniformity throughout the Empire, but his motive was primarily nationalistic—securing expert aid in building up a Canadian militia.<sup>2</sup> The evolution of the British Empire has been conditioned by just such circumstances as these in the domestic politics of its various parts, and in face of them the wider outlook and aims of the Imperialist have been powerless.

Laurier was first of all an autonomist. Not only did he oppose all tendencies to centralization, but his constructive suggestions were entirely in keeping with Liberalism in the historic sense—the removal of the vestiges of Colonialism. In this not only both moderate and extreme Nationalists were with him, but frequently also the Imperialists, for they had little love for Colonialism either. Here he moved just a step at a time, and only when a restriction became sensibly irksome. Thus he demanded complete freedom in foreign commercial relations, as in the matter of the Belgian and Zollverein treaties, and promoted devolution of local political questions, but refrained from raising the more complicated issues that lay beyond. His avowed attitude on the eve of each Conference was purely receptive. He set his face against even consultative and advisory central organs such as were proposed in 1907 and 1911, for the receipt of a recommendation from one of these would hazard political embarrassment at home.<sup>3</sup>

To Sir Wilfrid, moreover, vindication of one's own autonomy implied respect for the autonomy of others, and reciprocal non-interference among the British Nations was a cardinal feature of his policy. He favoured the settlement of Dominion difficulties by individual rather than collective consultation with the Home government, even invoking this principle in connection with the discussion of imperial defence.<sup>4</sup> Appeals to the Conference as a whole, such as those in 1907 by Mr. Deakin regarding the situa-

<sup>1</sup>Save perhaps the woollen manufacturers; for expression of these opinions see *Industrial Canada* published by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

<sup>2</sup>See discussion in Colonial Conference, 1907, Cd. 3523, pp. 94-119; also *Correspondence . . . the naval and military defense of the Empire* (London, 1909), Cd. 4948.

<sup>3</sup>Imperial Conference, 1911, Cd. 5745, pp. 85, 181.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., correspondence on defence, 1909, Cd. 4948, *passim*.

tion in the Pacific and by Sir Robert Bond regarding the fisheries question, were contrary to his practice.<sup>1</sup> Nor did he join the premiers who at this session pressed tariff reform upon the Mother Country in the Imperial interest. In supporting Mr. Fisher's plea in 1911 for the abrogation of the remaining most-favoured-nation treaty entanglements, he went out of his way to justify his doing so on the plea that Australia was affected in this case, but Canada might be in the next.<sup>2</sup>

Though an autonomist, Sir Wilfrid was also a co-operationist. This was what separated him from the ultra-Nationalist group.<sup>3</sup> Laurier attended each Imperial Conference session and took an effective part in its deliberations; Mr. Bourassa was not convinced of the advisability of such attendance.<sup>4</sup> But it was Sir Wilfrid's attitude towards participation in imperial foreign policy and its consequences which distinguished him most clearly from non-co-operationists and Conservatives alike, and best exemplifies his whole theory of imperial relationships. On the one hand he refused active consultation because this involved responsibility for the carrying out of decisions so made.<sup>5</sup> He rejected all overtures looking to prior commitments on the part of Canada, even estimates as to forces available. A dominant factor in this aloofness, incidentally, in addition to his ~~way~~<sup>way</sup> of local autonomy, was the strong pacifist (or at least pacific) ingredient in his Liberalism, which impelled him to visualize Canada as a haven of refuge from the "vortex of European militarism." At the same time he declared his willingness to back the Mother Country to the uttermost in the hour of genuine need. Hence he consistently asserted for the Canadian government and people the reservation of full discretion regarding participation in Empire wars. During one of the debates on the South African War, Sir Wilfrid said:

Whilst I cannot admit that Canada should take part in all the

<sup>1</sup>Colonial Conference, 1907, Cd. 3523, pp. 548-63, 587-600; R. Jebb, *The Imperial Conference* (London, 1911), II, 272-3.

<sup>2</sup>Imperial Conference, 1911, Cd. 5745, pp. 134-43.

<sup>3</sup>Bourassa was even more insistent than Laurier in professing to base his policies on English Liberalism, but he was perhaps more daring in drawing conclusions therefrom; certainly he was more free politically to do so, for his following was provincial, not national. For an instance, see *Canadian House of Commons Debates*, session 1906-7, cols. 5269, 5277.

<sup>4</sup>See debate on Borden's offer so to arrange Parliamentary business as to facilitate the Premier's attendance at the 1907 session. *Ibid.*, session 1906-7, cols. 5260-84.

<sup>5</sup>Imperial Conference, 1911, Cd. 5745, pp. 116-7.

wars of Great Britain, neither am I prepared to say that she should not take part in any war at all, I am prepared to look upon each case upon its merits as it arises. . . . I claim for Canada this, that in future, Canada shall be at liberty to act or not act, to interfere or not to interfere, to do just as she pleases, and that she shall reserve to herself the right to judge whether or not there is cause for her to act.<sup>1</sup>

This was the policy with which he stopped Chamberlain in 1902, which he reasserted at the Conferences of 1907, 1909, and 1911, and throughout the Canadian naval controversy, and which he proclaimed in the great speech in the Canadian House on August 19, 1914, at the close of his career. It secured that freedom from entanglements which he desired, yet did not hinder him in the support of the Empire during the two crises of his time. It was anathema to the non-co-operationists, it was a stumbling-block to the Imperialists, but it was the policy which survived all alternative devices, and achieved at last formal recognition by the nations in the Pact of Locarno.

While other governments changed, and inclined alternately to Imperialism or anti-Imperialism, Sir Wilfrid guided Canadian public policy uninterruptedly from 1896 to 1911. He only among the . . . participated in all four of the crucial Imperial Conferences held during this period. Thus the Nationalists enjoyed a continuity of official leadership in which their opponents were fatally deficient. Borden reached the helm ten years too late. After the era of Chamberlain and Lyttelton, the Home government passed to men fundamentally opposed to their policies, and who acted as Laurier's best foils in the Conferences of 1907 and 1911. Before the Tories resumed office, the mischief had been done. Meanwhile Imperialist leadership shifted to Deakin and Ward in the Antipodes, with some support also from Cape Colony. But Fisher succeeded Deakin, so that in 1911, on his dearest projects, Sir Joseph stood alone. The Canadian premier faced or circumvented all schemes in which he sensed the germ of centralization wherever they arose, and enlisted allies, too, wherever they might be found. In 1897 and again in 1902, he probably led an adamant minority, but the area from which he could count upon support widened as the years went on. Fairly consistent backing came from the representatives of Newfoundland in the Conferences. Botha in South Africa was the counterpart of Sir Wilfrid to a striking degree, in principles and in the circum-

<sup>1</sup>*Canadian House of Commons Debates*, session 1900, cols. 68, 72 (February 5, 1900).

stances lying back of them. Both represented national minorities within the Empire, and both found their policies conditioned by the necessity of plying a cautious course between antithetical groups of opinion, tinged in no small degree by racial bitterness. Coming later upon the scene, however, the South African premier's influence was correspondingly less than that of the kindred spirit whom he so ably seconded. The noticeable mutual support rendered by Laurier and the Liberal leaders of the United Kingdom was due not merely to similarity in political principles, but also to the fact that Sir Wilfrid's policy of reciprocal non-interference among the British nations was distinctly welcome to a Home government faced with an extremely delicate European situation and a somewhat bureaucratic tradition in the Colonial Office.

As much because of the man himself as because of the influence in the Empire of the Dominion for which he spoke, Sir Wilfrid achieved a position of dominance among the premiers in the Conference deliberations. It was with evident conviction that Sir Joseph Ward, in submitting his cherished proposal at the session of 1907, gave this testimony:

I recognize, as the representative of New Zealand, that unless we have the full concurrence of the representative of the great Dominion of Canada with us upon the proposal to establish an Imperial Council permanently, it would be quite hopeless for us to expect to arrive at anything like a working basis which would be of any use to us.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the popular interest, both within and without the Empire, which the Britannic Question has excited since the War, the period of Sir Wilfrid's tenure of office, in the present writer's opinion at least, has been the most important in the history of that question. They were the years wherein the most critical decisions regarding Empire relations were actually made. Under his leadership a series of precedents and a set of conditions were established to which his successors willingly or unwillingly have had to conform, whatever policies they may have forecast while in opposition. Smuts, Borden, and Hughes alike entered into his labours. Since the War no one government has been outstanding in the settlement of Empire problems, but during the earlier period it was Canada under Laurier that determined the future lines of development.

<sup>1</sup>Colonial Conference, 1907, Cd. 3523, p. 32.

This may perhaps become more apparent if we consider briefly what was accomplished in the pre-war sessions of the Imperial Conference. With the advent to power of Joseph Chamberlain, the Imperialist movement entered the arena of practical politics. Both in 1897 and 1902 he presented simultaneously his three objectives—federation, fiscal union, and defence. In 1897 the colonial secretary was feeling his way, but was full of confidence. It is noteworthy that at this time at least two premiers, Mr. Seddon and Sir E. Braddon, favoured imperial federation, as they indicate in their recorded dissent from the resolution avowing satisfaction with existing political relationships within the Empire.<sup>1</sup> In the interval between the two Conferences, the South African War roused marked enthusiasm in the colonies and swelled Imperialist hopes, but it also evoked significant expressions of nationalistic sentiment in Canada and disagreeable testimony to the emergence of the German menace. Chamberlain appreciated the necessity of taking time by the forelock. Unfortunately the Conference of 1902 was one of those whose proceedings, seemingly, were too crucial to bear full recording for posterity; it is significant, too, in the light of the political situation then existing in Canada, that the veto of publicity came from Sir Wilfrid Laurier.<sup>2</sup> The evidence goes to show, however, that this was the occasion of Chamberlain's conclusive effort for imperial federation. The circumstances were unlikely to be again so favourable. With a concrete emergency to back his argument and war enthusiasm to pave the way for it, he issued his famous appeal for defence aid from the Dominions, with the offer of participation in imperial counsels, even in control of foreign policy, as his *quid pro quo*:

The weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of its fate. We have borne the burden for many years. . . . If you are prepared at any time to take any share, any proportionate share, in the burdens of the Empire, we are prepared to meet you with any proposal for giving to you a corresponding voice in the policy of the Empire.<sup>3</sup>

This was the antithesis of the policy enunciated by Sir Wilfrid during the South African debates. The issue between Chamberlain Imperialism and Laurier Nationalism was squarely joined.

<sup>1</sup>Colonial Conference, 1897, C. 8596, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Colonial Conference, 1902, correspondence relating to the publication of proceedings, Cd. 1723.

<sup>3</sup>Colonial Conference, 1902, Cd. 1299, p. 4.

The colonial secretary's proposals were disposed of by the conclusive rejoinder:

The basis upon which the British Empire rests, the basis upon which it has grown, has been the local autonomy of all its constituent parts, and I do not see that anything can be done at the present time which would warrant a change in that basis in any way whatever.<sup>1</sup>

Excepting Sir Joseph Ward, with his abortive proposal in 1911, no one since Chamberlain appears to have had the temerity again to raise the issue of imperial federation squarely in a Conference of the Empire. The session of 1902 was equally significant as regards the fiscal issue. Chamberlain had envisaged an Imperial *Zollverein*. What he learned at these two Conferences, however, especially from the pointed reply of the Canadian ministers to his second effort,<sup>2</sup> converted him to the system of reciprocal preferences adumbrated by Mr. Foster in 1894, and provoked his campaign for tariff reform in Britain. In this case his convictions on the subject of imperial unity coincided with the interests of the newer industrialism which he led. Had such coincidences been more numerous throughout the Empire, the outcome might have been different.

The Conference of 1902 marks the decisive launching of the Imperialist programme and the equally decisive rejoinder to it—which came from Canada. Henceforth the status of the problem could be changed only by a radical alteration in the circumstances of the Empire, and throughout his career Sir Wilfrid refused to admit that such an alteration had intervened. The 1907 session was notable in three respects. It marked the rejection of the advisory Imperial Council scheme which had been projected almost simultaneously in 1905 by Sir Frederick Pollock in an address to the Royal Colonial Institute,<sup>3</sup> and by Colonial Secretary Lyttelton in his famous despatch,<sup>4</sup> and was revived at the Conference by the premiers of Australia and New Zealand.<sup>5</sup> Here the opposition was led by Sir Wilfrid, supported by General Botha

<sup>1</sup>From Laurier's reply to criticism of his coolness towards Chamberlain's overtures, *Canadian House of Commons Debates*, session 1902, col. 2740.

<sup>2</sup>Colonial Conference, 1902, Cd. 1299, pp. 36-8.

<sup>3</sup>Royal Colonial Institute, *Proceedings* (London), vol. 35, pp. 288-304.

<sup>4</sup>Correspondence relating to the future organization of Colonial Conferences (London, 1905), Cd. 2785; this paper also includes the replies from the Dominions, of which that from Canada was the most distinctly unfavourable.

<sup>5</sup>Colonial Conference, 1907, Cd. 3337; Cd. 3523, pp. 26-94.

and Lord Elgin. More important still was the discussion and passage by the Conference of their memorable Resolution I.<sup>1</sup> It is probably no exaggeration to characterize this as the enactment of the imperial constitution—a constitution which embodies the well-known features of what is termed a confederacy. Subsequent resolutions (notably that of 1917), and precedents since established have served merely to amplify, not to alter, the essential character of this pronouncement. Finally, it was at this Conference that imperial fiscal relations met definitive treatment.<sup>2</sup> It was pointed out even more clearly than heretofore that no real progress in this matter was possible until the Mother Country granted the Dominions a very substantial preference in her market, and in keeping with the recent verdict of the electorate upon the issue, this condition was flatly rejected. It is but recently that the question has re-entered politics, and upon the same basis as formerly.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, as the German menace became steadily more insistent, the problem of imperial defence had year by year been assuming greater relative importance. On the occasion of each Conference, the Home government advanced projects based on the assumption of preparation for a major conflict in home waters, and postulating unity of control. In this connection Sir Wilfrid played his most purely negative rôle, but one which was not less effective in its way on that account. The Canadian naval snarl can only be made respectable through the admission that he sincerely believed preparedness was no remedy, and no serious struggle was imminent. Australia, fearful for the Pacific, led the way in decentralization of naval strategy, Canada in that of military establishments. Prior to the War, the conduct of imperial foreign relations did not constitute a major subject of discussion in Imperial Conferences. Nevertheless the lines of development were, as we have seen, determined during this period, and in the main by Canada.

The years of the Great War and its settlement, therefore, can hardly be characterized as a great era of imperial reconstruction. In disposing of the Imperialists' attempt to revive their programme, and in readjusting Britannic relations to a peace-time basis, the Conferences held during and since the War have merely

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, p. v.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 228-350, 356-440.

<sup>3</sup>See R. Jebb, *The Empire in eclipse* (London, 1926), ch. 3.

confirmed and amplified principles already in operation.<sup>1</sup> The memorandum of 1926 embodies the cumulative achievement of a quarter-century. This is not urged in disparagement of the notable advance on the position of 1911 which was attained in the conduct of foreign relations through the institution of the British Empire delegation at Versailles and Washington. Correlated with other developments, however, the latter must be regarded as an agency of co-operation, not unification—one in which Sir Wilfrid himself would doubtless have participated—and subsequent progress has been even more in keeping with earlier tendencies. A feature of this period of still greater significance than the consolidation of existing bases of relationship, has been the accordng of international recognition to these same principles. Never before was there such a necessity on the part of foreign powers for taking cognizance of developments within the Empire. The Britannic Question is no longer, as heretofore, essentially a family matter.

This outcome, in both respects, has been due to the general adoption throughout the Empire of the essential features of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's point of view regarding imperial relations. In Canada all parties, as revealed in the debates upon the Peace Treaties, the League of Nations, and the question of diplomatic representation at Washington, are now autonomist. The policy of the Liberal party is still fundamentally that of 1900. Since the beginning of the century that of the Conservatives has shown a more interesting evolution. During the South African War they were Colonialist, and during the naval controversy Imperialist. What Borden learned from his visit to London in 1912 and during the War years made him an autonomist also. Of recent years divergence in policy upon external issues has been based not upon theories of relationship to the Mother Country so much as upon emphasis on isolation on the one hand, and on imperial co-operation and vigorous participation as a nation in world affairs on the other. This alignment has now become characteristic of the other Dominions, for they also have displayed, if more rapidly, the same evolution in relation to imperial problems. The marked increase in importance of the Pacific in world politics, the "White Australia" policy, and the consequent pre-occupation with their own safety, have provoked a rapid

<sup>1</sup>See the significant change in policy on the part of *The Round Table* announced in the issue of December, 1920.

enhancement of nationalism in Australia and New Zealand. In South Africa, domestic problems have created a political situation which, if more acute, yet reveals an interesting parallel to that in Canada under Laurier, and has necessitated for office-holding a compromise analogous to his as regards imperial relations. At the present time Imperialism, if not the Empire, is undoubtedly "in eclipse."

A. GORDON DEWEY

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### SOME CANADIAN VILLAGES ABOUT 1760

ONE of the manuscripts in my possession seems to be of interest in connection with the legends or notes to be found on the maps of the River St. Lawrence which were made by the engineers of the British army under the command of Brigadier-General James Murray in the years 1760-3. During the whole of this period the survey of the St. Lawrence was steadily going on, and it is presumed that it was completed in 1763 with the production of the Murray map, the original of which is, I understand, in the Dominion Archives, being No. 272 in the *Catalogue of maps and plans* published by the Archives.

This map consists of four sheets or separate maps, not all on the same scale, and its interest is much increased by the legends or notes to be found upon it, giving a short description of the villages and their inhabitants. Incidentally, there is much more reason for calling the map the "Amherst" map than the "Murray" map, as the survey was originally ordered by the commander-in-chief, Sir Jeffery Amherst, and it was in accordance with the latter's order that Murray had the survey made.

The manuscript, a translation of which is printed below, is sufficiently described by its own title. The original is written in French, which is in places difficult to read; it bears indications of having been started as a fair copy, and of having developed into a rough copy, and I am not sure whether the writer was really at home in the language in which he was writing. It is not much more than a fragment and is unfinished, but it is of some interest to compare its text with the legends on the Murray map. I have not had the opportunity of consulting the Murray map, but the legends have been printed in Appendix C of the catalogue of maps mentioned above. The description of the few parishes with which the manuscript deals is somewhat more detailed than that on the Murray map. The chief differences may be summarized as follows:

#### Longue Pointe.

Description much extended in the manuscript; reason for name given, condition of inhabitants, etc.

**Point aux Trembles.**

Description extended, mention of a religious foundation, etc.

**Longueuil.**

The historical notes on the Murray map are extended in the manuscript.

**Boucherville.**

The manuscript contains little new matter.

**Repentigny.**

There is a note on its change of name and the description is generally extended as compared to the Murray map.

**St. Sulpice.**

In this case there seems to be a big difference in the number of families and men fit for service. The Murray map gives 67 and 73 respectively, while the manuscript gives 110 and 140.

**Varennes.**

No new matter.

**Verchères.**

I presume the "Isle Borgaro" mentioned on the Murray map is the same as the "Boucharde Islands" mentioned in the manuscript.

**La Valterie.**

Given as Lavaterie in the Murray map. The description of its situation is extended in the manuscript as compared with the Murray map.

**Lanoraie and Dautray.**

These are dealt with together on the Murray map. There is little new matter contained in the manuscript.

**Contrecoeur.**

The French is somewhat difficult to understand in this part of the manuscript, and I am not sure I have got the exact meaning intended by the writer in the part concerning the holdings.

**St. Ours.**

Some interesting details are added in the manuscript.

**Berthier.**

The name of the seigneur is given in the manuscript as shown; on the Murray map it appears to be Corteau.

**Isle Dupas.**

No new matter.

In general the numbers of families and of men fit for service are less in the case of the manuscript than in the notes on the Murray map, but this seems natural if we may suppose the manu-

script to be earlier than the completed map. The original is in the handwriting of the engineer, Lieutenant John Montresor.

F. M. MONTRESOR

[*Translation of a manuscript, G 27, in the possession of Major F. M. Montresor.*]

REMARKS  
on the different towns and villages of Canada  
with

the origin and number of inhabitants of each parish, together with the number of those fit for war service. The places where the lie of the country is advantageous. The water courses and their bottoms, and the different reefs and rocks to be found in the river.

Commenced the 17th September 1760 by the Engineers of the Army commanded by General Murray under the direction of John Montresor.

NORTH BANK                    PARISH OF LONGUE POINTE  
Govt. of Montreal

This parish is situated in the Island of Montreal two short leagues from the town on the bank of the river. It is called Longue Pointe because the church is built on a tongue of land which projects into the river and which forms a cape. The inhabitants are nearly all well off and have an abundance of everything necessary for the support of life. The priests of St. Sulpice are the seigneurs of this parish as well as of the rest of the island. This parish is nearly 2 leagues long and 1 deep, has 84 families, and nearly 100 men fit for service. From Montreal to Longue Pointe there is a cliff running along the water, pierced in several places by little rivers the passage of which becomes difficult after a little rain. The principal streams are those of Nigeon and des Soeurs.

PARISH OF POINTE AUX TREMBLES

This parish is situate in the Island of Montreal  $3\frac{1}{2}$  leagues from Montreal,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  from Longue Pointe and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  from the end of the island a little above the island of St. Therese. The church is placed on a tongue of land projecting into the river. There are 80 families and 90 men fit for service. Here there is also a fine house belonging to the sisters of the Montreal congregation. This is a foundation for the instruction of young people. The priests of St. Sulpice are the seigneurs of this island. There is a cliff from Longue Pointe as

far as just below Pointe aux Trembles, and from there to the end of the island the banks of the river are nearly flat.

**SOUTH BANK**  
Govt. of Montreal

**PARISH OF LONGUEUIL**

This parish is placed on the south side of the river a little below the island of St. Helena at one league from Montreal. The Baron of Longueuil is seigneur. The soil is fertile and furnishes the necessities of life amply. It is nearly 2 leagues long and 3 deep, has 111 families and 120 men fit for service. There is an old fort with four towers, which was built in 1690 for the protection of the place against the incursion of savages; this was the cause of the parish being made a barony. The French wished to build a store for the protection of provisions and other merchandize which they have need of for Chambly, Isle à la Noix, Carillon, etc. (because in spring the waters of the river are very high and transport vessels can lie in quite close to the land) and for this purpose they have commenced a grand road which is to go straight from the fort at Longueuil to that of Chambly. In summer the waters are very low, a boat may hardly pass the shallows of Longueuil without touching.

**PARISH OF BOUCHERVILLE**

This parish is situated to the south of the river at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  leagues from Montreal,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  from Longueuil,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  from Varennes. Monsieur de Boucherville is the seigneur. The village is a very fine one and might almost pass for a town in Canada. Many of the noblesse live here, which contributes much towards making this spot agreeable as well as its natural situation. There is also a House of Religious Sisters. The parish is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  leagues long and 2 leagues deep. The islands of St. Joseph, St. Marguerite and La Commune are appendages to the parish; there are about 140 families and 200 men fit for service.

**NORTH BANK**

**PARISH OF REPENTIGNY**

This parish is situated to the north of the river 6 leagues from Montreal and one from the cross roads of the Assumption. The parish changed its name in compliment to M. de Repentigny, its seigneur (its name before this having been L'Assomption). There are several little islands opposite Repentigny which produce only corn and wood. The soil is fertile and provides, as in the case of the other parishes, everything necessary to support life. There are 75 families in the parish and 100 men fit for service. The rivers

which flow to join the St. Lawrence in Repentigny parish are L'Assomption, La Chenais and La R. des Prairies. We shall note in a separate chapter the courses of rivers flowing into the main stream. N.B. There is a road laid out along the south side of the River L'Assomption, but it is not finished, and runs in a straight line from the church across the woods to the River L'Assomption.

#### PARISH OF ST. SULPICE

Some of the Bouchardes islands are appendages to this parish, which is 2 leagues long and the same depth; there are 110 families and 140 men fit for service. The priests of St. Sulpice are the seigneurs.

#### SOUTH BANK

#### PARISH OF VARENNES

This parish is situated to the south of the River St. Lawrence, 5 leagues from Montreal, 1½ from Boucherville, 2½ from Verchères. It is 2½ leagues long and 2½ deep. This parish is divided into two seigneuries and two fiefs, i.e. Varennes of which M. de Varennes is seigneur, L'Isle de St. Therese with Monsieur de Langloissary as seigneur, the fief of Martigny, and that of Madame Hartel. This parish has 240 families and about 250 men fit for service. All the Isles Percées belong to the parish, as also a part of the islands of Langloissary. The village is advantageously placed on a small promontory projecting into the river with small cliffs, and is bounded on the Boucherville side by a stream which winds its way from the woods, and on the Verchères side by some little underfeatures which are cut through by streams.

#### PARISH OF VERCHÈRES

Le St. Louis de Verchères is seigneur of this parish. It has 120 houses and about 166 men capable of war service; a part of the Bouchard Islands belong to the parish. The soil is very fertile. The banks are very difficult for landing; the bank from Verchères to Varennes is a cliff nearly everywhere 130 feet high. Towards the St. Ours side it steadily diminishes.

#### NORTH BANK

#### PARISH OF LA VALTERIE

M. de la Valterie is seigneur of this parish. The river of St. Jean flows into the main stream ½ a league above the church; its course is serpentine and goes round a mountain. The latter is very strong by nature of its situation, it is at a distance of 600 toises from the main stream, is covered with woods, and the road which passes at

the foot is a mere defile taking barely 6 men abreast. The parish has 56 houses and about 70 men fit for service. The Island of La Valterie belongs to the parish.

#### PARISH OF LANORAY

? de Lanoray is seigneur. There are only 30 houses and 55 men fit for service. The concessions have not yet all been taken up.

#### SOUTH BANK

#### PARISH OF CONTRECOEUR

Contrecoeur is a fief given by the King of France to the Messrs. of that name about 80 years ago; they have the right of Middle, High, and Low Justice.

It lies for two leagues along the main stream and extends to a depth as far as the River Richelieu on an equal frontage. M. Contrecoeur is seigneur. The land under cultivation juts out slightly into the main stream, the houses are very poor, the soil is infertile and unhealthy and the ground marshy, as also are the islands when the snow thaws. The adjacent islands, with the exception of two, are all possessed in holdings, under the name and practice of communes, by the inhabitants.

The parish has 52 houses and about 70 men fit for service. There is a windmill for flour which belongs to the seigneur.

#### PARISH OF ST. OURS

St. Ours on the main stream is a fief of Morne Nocturne, of which M. St. Ours de Choillons has the greatest part. It is called Old St. Ours to distinguish it from the lands situated north and south on the River Richelieu and bearing the same name. It is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  leagues long, its depth not being settled. The soil is sandy, sterile and somewhat raised. The greater part of the houses have been abandoned and have gone to waste; the others, with the exception of eight or nine, are so miserable that they are not worth counting. The church was taken down in 1749 and transported beyond the River Sorel to New St. Ours; there only remains the windmill. The number of men fit for service might amount to 30.

#### NORTH BANK

#### PARISH OF D'AUTRE

D'Autre is a little parish of the same type as Lanoray. Mr. Neven is seigneur; there is no church, the inhabitants go to Berthier to hear mass; there are 30 houses and nearly 45 men fit for service.

## BERTHIER

Berthier is a fine and beautiful parish, the country is good and the peasants are nearly all well off. The river [blank] flows into the main stream a quarter league above the church, and the little river a quarter league below it. L'Isle au Castor, Les Isles Communes, the little river and La Grande Chicotte belong to this parish. There are 150 families and about 200 men fit for service. M. Courticaux is the seigneur.

SOUTH BANK

PARISH OF SOREL

[Blank]

Govt. of Three  
Rivers

PARISH OF YAMASKA

[Blank]

NORTH BANK

PARISH OF L'ISLE DUPAS

L'Isle Dupas is 4 leagues long and a half league broad at its greatest breadth; above is the Isle aux Chichons and the Isles aux Fesses (?) and below the Isle à l'Aigle and the Isle de la Grenouille; the Isles aux Vaches belong to Dupas parish.

M. Brise and Madame du Sablé are seigneurs of this parish. It has 28 houses in this island and about 50 men fit for service. All the inhabitants of the north of St. Ignace island belong to the parish, those of the south to the parish of Sorel.

Govt. of Three  
Rivers

PARISH OF MASKINONGES

[Blank]

SOUTH BANK

L'ISLE ST. IGNACE

[Blank]

Govt. of Three  
Rivers

PARISH OF ST FRANÇOIS

[Blank]

## THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

The early history of the series of partnerships known as the North West Company is a fascinating, but little known, field. The agreements of 1802 and 1804 given in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie de Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1890), Vol. II, pp. 459-

481 and 482-499 respectively, were presented as the only constitutions the organization possessed, and so far as I am aware, the following agreement<sup>1</sup> of 1790, to which M. Pierre-Georges Roy, the archivist of the province of Quebec, has drawn my attention, is the first constitution of an earlier date to come to light. Some general items of this agreement were given in a letter<sup>2</sup> from Alexander Mackenzie to Roderick Mackenzie dated Lac la Pluie, August, 1791, but little was known of the detailed character of the concern.

From the information presented in this document it has been possible to determine, with approximate accuracy, the proportion of the shares held by different partners in the amalgamation of 1787. The members of the opposition company<sup>3</sup> formed in 1784-5, which included John Gregory, Peter Pangman, John Ross, Alexander Mackenzie, and Normand McLeod (dormant partner) had been reduced to four in number through the murder of John Ross in the winter of 1786-7, and these were given one share each in the amalgamated company. The remaining sixteen shares were divided as follows: McTavish, Frobisher and Co., seven; Robert Grant, two; Nicholas Montour, two; Patrick Small, two; Peter Pond, one; George McBeath, one; and William Holmes, one.

Having determined the allocation of shares in the amalgamation of 1787 and the number of shares owned in the new company by members of the old company of 1783, I had hoped to discover the number of shares held by the original partners in 1783-4, but the changes from that year to 1787 are uncertain. In a copy of the Frobisher letter book in the Canadian Archives it is shown that Benjamin Frobisher died on April 15, 1787; that S. McTavish, in a letter dated Montreal, April, 1787, suggested a partnership of equal shares; that Joseph Frobisher accepted the arrangement; and that the partnership of McTavish, Frobisher and Co. was completed on Nov. 19, 1787. McTavish stated that this arrangement gave the firm one-half the concern, after deducting the shares of Small and Montour. From this information the conjecture is submitted that the sixteen shares of the partnership of 1783-4 were divided as follows: Peter Pond (who refused to accept the share allocated to him, but a year later agreed), had one share; Grant, Montour, Small each held two shares and Holmes one share in the

<sup>1</sup>A comparison of this agreement with that of 1802 shows striking similarity and indicates the extent to which the organization had been built up in 1790.

<sup>2</sup>L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I, 38-9.

<sup>3</sup>Reminiscences by the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie, *ibid.*, 10.

amalgamated concern of 1787, and it is probable that they held the same number of shares in the agreement of 1783-4; according to the Frobisher letter book, McBeath held two shares, one of which was apparently sold in 1787 to McTavish, Frobisher and Co.; the remaining six shares were evenly divided between S. McTavish and B. and J. Frobisher. The number of canoes for each license in that year supports the conclusion that the two shares each held by Montour and Small were under the control of B. and J. Frobisher and S. McTavish respectively. Each canoe was roughly represented by one share. In partnerships those supplying the capital secured the larger shares—McBeath two and Pond one, Grant two and Holmes one, McTavish three and Small two, and Frobisher three and Montour two.

This suggestion as to the probable distribution of shares in the agreement of 1783-4 is supported by an analysis of the developments of the preceding period. The beginnings of trouble with the American colonies and the increasing competition in southern areas, as well as the prospect of large profits to be obtained from trade in the Northwest, led to a great movement to that territory. Peter Pond, who had traded on the Mississippi in 1773 and 1774, and Alexander Henry, with his partner Cadotte, decided to venture to the Northwest in 1775. Masson<sup>1</sup> and Bain have suggested that the North West Company began with the joint stock arrangements on the Saskatchewan in that year, and later evidence confirms this position. The first hint of concentration appeared at Montreal in that year in the grant of one license<sup>2</sup> to James McGill, Benjamin Frobisher, and Maurice Blondeau to take twelve canoes to Grand Portage, licenses for the remaining sixteen canoes to that point being divided among six other grantees of whom Lawrence Ermatinger was the largest, with six canoes. Following this concentration of the trade in Montreal, Alexander Henry described the new alignments in the interior. Arriving<sup>3</sup> "at Cumberland

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>2</sup>Return of trade licenses—photostat copies in the University of Toronto library included in the material issued under the direction of Professor Wayne Stevens and the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. The mass of information in these returns is bewildering, but it gives several hints which make possible a tentative reconstruction of the early history.

<sup>3</sup>James Bain, ed., *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1776 by Alexander Henry* (Toronto, 1901), 263. The paragraph is ambiguous, but Masson and apparently Bain interpret the joint stock as affecting the whole party and not Henry and the Frobishers only. It is probable, however, that Pond did not join the venture.

House, the parties separated." Pond took two canoes to Fort Dauphin, and Cadotte, Henry's partner, four canoes to Fort des Prairies. Joseph and Thomas Frobisher and Alexander Henry joined their stock, "Messrs. Frobisher retained six [canoes] and myself four." They wintered at Beaver Lake and built a post on the Churchill River in the spring of 1776. Thomas Frobisher followed this successful venture by wintering at Isle à la Crosse Lake in 1776-7. On his visit to Fort des Prairies in the winter of 1775-6, Henry found four different interests, probably James Finlay, Patterson representing McGill and Patterson, Holmes representing Holmes and Grant, and, lastly, Cadotte, who had "fortunately this year agreed to join their stock, and when the season was over, to divide the skins and meat." The amalgamation of interests was evident at Montreal and in the Saskatchewan. License returns for 1776 are missing, but in the following year concentration was also evident in the license to J. Bte. Adhémar with James McGill guarantor, for ten canoes valued at £5100.

The existence of a distinct organization at this date, was generally assumed, as is shown in the following extracts. Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair in letters from Michilimackinac dated February 15, 1780, wrote:<sup>1</sup> "The North West Company are not better than they ought to be, their conduct in sending an embassy to Congress in '76 may be traced now to matters more detrimental." Lawrence Ermatinger referred to the North West Company in a letter dated November 28, 1776. In 1778 John McGill and Frobisher despatched twelve canoes presumably for the Company, since John Askin, in a letter<sup>2</sup> dated Michilimackinac, June 13, 1778, to these men wrote, "As I'm informed that you have to transact the business of the N. W. Co. this season"; and in a letter<sup>3</sup> of June 14, 1778, to Todd and McGill, he wrote, "As to the supplying of others with rum, corn, etc. after I have made sure of what will be wanted for the great Co. (as we must now term them for distinction sake)."

Hostilities incidental to the American Revolution and the decline in furs to the south were increasingly responsible for a shift of traders from Detroit to the north. Simon McTavish had

<sup>1</sup>Extracts of letters from Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair concerning the trade and traders to Michilimackinac and the Northwest, February 15, 1780. Canadian Archives, Series Q, Vol. 17, Pt. I, 256-7.

<sup>2</sup>*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIX, 245.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 248.

been interested in forwarding supplies from Albany to Detroit in 1774. In 1775 his name with that of McBeath appears as the owner of a vessel of thirty tons. He was engaged in trade to Grand Portage in 1776, but it was not until 1778 that his name appeared among the grantees of licenses to that point, when he was given permission to take eight canoes. An increase in the number of interests trading from Grand Portage led to renewed attempts to discover new territory. In 1778 several interests combined<sup>1</sup> to support Pond in an expedition of four canoes to the Athabaska country to repeat the success of Thomas Frobisher in the preceding year. The chief interests were represented by the two houses of Frobisher and McTavish, and this arrangement was probably the direct forerunner of the North West Company of 1783-4. The expedition was very successful, and Pond came out in 1779 to Montreal. In 1779<sup>2</sup> those concerned in the Northwest "joined their stock together and made one common interest" of the whole, sixteen shares being divided as follows: the larger interests—Todd and McGill two shares; B. and J. Frobisher two shares; McTavish and Co. two shares; McBeath and Co. two shares; and the independent interests possibly, Holmes and Grant two shares, and Waden and Co. two shares; Ross and Co. one share, Oakes and Co. one share. Apparently Waden, as a representative of the small independent interests, was sent as a compromise choice by the amalgamated concern during Pond's absence, as he wintered in 1779 at Lac la Ronge. According to one account<sup>3</sup> the agreement of 1779 was renewed in 1780 for three years, but discontinued in two years. The licenses granted at that time support this conclusion. In 1780 a license was granted to Frobisher and Frobisher for eight canoes, in 1781 to Todd and McGill, B. and J. Frobisher, and McGill and Patterson for twelve canoes, in 1782 to B. and J. Frobisher for ten canoes. In 1783 the agreement was apparently broken and licenses for large shipments to Grand Portage were granted as follows: B. and J. Frobisher, 5 canoes valued at 3500 livres; S. McTavish,

<sup>1</sup>Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (Toronto, n.d.), I, xxxv.

<sup>2</sup>Memorandum of Charles Grant to Haldimand, dated Quebec, April 24, 1780. *Canadian Archives Report*, 1888, 59-61.

<sup>3</sup>*Sketch of the Fur Trade of Canada, 1809*, in the Canadian Archives. This is a photostat copy of an original which was apparently an early draft of the work *On the Origin and Progress of the Northwest Company of Canada* (London, 1811), supposedly written by Nathaniel Atcheson. The phrasing of the *Sketch of the Fur Trade*, and of the *Origin and Progress* is in many cases identical. The work was possibly the result of contributions by several important traders brought into final shape by Atcheson.

6 canoes valued at 4500 livres; Holmes and Grant, 3 canoes valued at 1800 livres; and to Lake Superior, McBeath and Pond, 3 canoes valued at 2000 livres.

In any case Pond was granted a license for four canoes to Grand Portage in 1780, and apparently returned to winter in Athabaska and collect the furs he had been obliged to leave in 1779. He was at Grand Portage in 1781, and was selected<sup>1</sup> presumably by the larger interests as a representative to trade a joint stock with Waden, who apparently spent the summer at Lac la Ronge. Waden was killed in March, 1782, as a result, it has been suggested, of quarrels over policies in which Waden represented the small independent interests and Pond the larger interests. Pond is reported<sup>2</sup> to have met the Indians from the Athabaska country, traded with them and warned them of the smallpox among the Indians below. In the same year the agreement of the fur traders appears to have broken up, possibly as the result of the news of Waden's death, and two parties were sent to establish posts in Athabaska of which one probably representing the small independent traders was successful in reaching the district only to find that the smallpox had preceded them. They secured only seven packs of furs. There is reason to believe that Pond did not reach the district in 1782, but undoubtedly he was in Athabaska in 1783 and secured favourable returns. Meanwhile McTavish and the Frobishers gradually emerged as the strongest independent interests, and, the advantages of co-operation having been realized, a new agreement was made in 1783-4, which has been regarded as the beginning of the North West Company. The omission of the small independent traders was a feature of the agreement which led to the formation of the small company and to the period of competition from 1785 to 1787, when amalgamation followed. The success of the amalgamation has been questioned, and it is probable that Alexander Mackenzie as the chief representative of the small traders never became reconciled to the policies of the larger organization.

The North West Company of 1783-4 emerged as the result of the increased strength necessary to prosecute the trade in the Athabaska country, of the pressure toward the north which followed the dislocation of trade to Detroit incidental to the American

<sup>1</sup>Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages*, I, xl. Mackenzie's account is most unsatisfactory. He has given the date of Waden's death as 1780-1, whereas it was March, 1782 (Canadian Archives, *Haldimand Papers*, B. 129, pp. 113-5). From this error the remainder of his account is thrown out of line.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, xli.

Revolution, and of the disappearance of Albany as a rival base to Montreal. The Company of 1787 was a result of the impossibilities of competition in the trade.

The agreement of 1790 occupies an important position in the evolution of the organization. According to article one, "McTavish, Frobisher and Co. shall do all the business of this concern at Montreal." The trade was carried on through Montreal importing firms, which in turn had connections with English firms. Again conjectures may be made as to the interrelationship of these firms at that time. From information in the Frobisher letter book it appears that McBeath's two shares were supplied by Forsyth in Montreal and in turn by Phyn and Ellice in London. According to a letter dated 1787 from John Richardson to John Porteous, McBeath was obliged to assign the affairs of McBeath, Grant and Co. to the hands of trustees, and he had undertaken a debt due by Sutherland and Grant to Phyn and Ellice "which will, of course, insure his ruin." These difficulties apparently necessitated the sale of at least one share to McTavish, Frobisher and Co., and Pond and McBeath's two shares were then supplied by Phyn and Ellice. Holmes and Grant was supplied by Blackwood. B. and J. Frobisher was supplied by Brickwood, Pattle and Co., and S. McTavish by Dyer, Allan and Co. The new firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Co. of 1787 was supplied equally by Brickwood, Pattle and Co., and Dyer, Allan and Co. In 1788 Dyer, Allan and Co. transferred their share to Brickwood, Pattle and Co. In the following year McTavish, Frobisher and Co. secured the right to supply McBeath and Pond's shares, and the share of Dyer, Allan and Co. acquired by Brickwood, Pattle and Co. was transferred to Phyn and Ellice in England. Phyn and Ellice were represented in Canada by the firm of R. Ellice and Co. which was chiefly interested in the southern trade. This firm disappeared on April 1, 1790; and a new firm, Forsyth, Richardson and Co., was formed which made provision for Forsyth who had been eliminated from the Northwest trade. The supply business of the North West Company in Montreal had come into the hands of the single firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Co., and that of the southern trade into the hands of Forsyth, Richardson and Co. In England, McTavish, Frobisher and Co. was supplied by Brickwood Pattle and Co. and by Phyn and Ellice, the latter also acting as a supply house for Forsyth, Richardson and Co. These arrangements were strengthened in the agreement of 1790 which began with the first outfit for the year 1792 and ran for seven years to 1798, when it

was superseded by the agreement of 1795, which began with the first outfit for 1799. The agreement of 1790 is important as it represents the first charter in which consolidation from London to the Northwest had become effective. Gregory and McLeod had been disposed of in the amalgamation of 1787, and Forsyth, Richardson and Co. were chiefly concerned in the Detroit trade. In 1792 McTavish, Frobisher and Co. was supreme in the Northwest. The basis of the organization preceding the marked expansion of 1798, and of 1802, was laid down in the agreement of 1790.

The centre of disturbance to the entire trade structure was in the southern trade. A state of equilibrium had been reached by 1790, but it was of short duration. In a letter dated September 23, 1789, John Richardson<sup>1</sup> wrote to John Porteous complaining of the decline of the Detroit trade and stating:

I have made some arrangements there [Michilimackinac] this year which will produce an extension of our business in that quarter and I hope a safe one,—Mich'a is far preferable to Detroit as being more out of the way of either military or commercial interference from the States.

Forsyth, Richardson and Co. and Todd, McGill and Co. wrote to Dorchester in a letter dated Montreal, August 10, 1791, asking for protection in the country south of Detroit following the burning of a Miami village. In a letter dated August 15, 1793, further complaints were made of a decline in trade. "F. R. and Co. are most severe sufferers by last year's shipments. May all the curses of Emaulphus fall upon these *Sans Culottes* villains of France." A storm was precipitated with the Jay Treaty. Small firms<sup>2</sup> such as Grant, Campion and Co. disappeared. The firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Co. became an important competitor for the Northwest trade in its merger with other groups in the X Y Co., especially after 1798 and after Alexander Mackenzie had joined its ranks following his release from the North West Company at the end of the 1790 agreement.

The North West Company had its origin in the demand for increasing capital following the extension of trade into the Athabasca country. Its difficulties throughout the period prior to 1804 were largely the result of gradual disappearance of the trade to the south and the struggle of small independent traders who combined in defensive groups to obtain a share of the rich fur trade of the Northwest. Alexander Mackenzie was an important figure in both

<sup>1</sup>Copies of *Richardson Correspondence*, Canadian Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Copies of *Baby Papers*, Canadian Archives.

of the struggles waged by the small groups from 1785 to 1787 and during the later history of the X Y Co. The hostilities of the American Revolution and the Jay Treaty had their effects on the North West Company's agreements from 1775 to 1787 and in the formation of the X Y Co. at a later date.

H. A. INNIS

*[Copy compared with the original preserved in the archives of the Seminary of Quebec, by Amédie Gosselin, archivist of the Seminary of Quebec and of Laval University.]*

Articles of agreement<sup>1</sup> entered into at the Grand Portage between McTavish Frobisher & Coy, Nicholas Montour, Robert Grant, Patrick Small, William McGillivray, Daniel Sutherland, John Gregory, Peter Pangman, and Alexander Mackenzie, for the purpose of carrying on a Trade on their joint Accounts, to that part of the Indian Country commonly called the North West, or elsewhere as the Parties may hereafter agree; to be divided into twenty shares of which McTavish Frobisher & Coy are to hold six twentieths, Nich<sup>8</sup> Montour two twentieths, Robert Grant two twentieths, Pat Small two twentieths, Will McGillivray<sup>2</sup> one twentieth, Daniel Sutherland one twentieth, John Gregory, two twentieths, Peter Pangman two twentieths, and Alex. Mackenzie, two twentieths, in all profits and loss arising from thence; to commence with the first outfit for the year 1792, and to continue there after for the full and complete term of seven years.

Article first,

That McTavish, Frobisher & Coy, shall do all the business of this concern at Montreal, and import the goods necessary for the supplies, charging<sup>3</sup> 5 per cent at the bottom of the invoice, and interest from the time they fall due in England, at the rate of 5 per cent p. annum, with 4 per cent on the amount of the whole outfit, at the close of each year, the goods, men, wages, provisions, (wherever they may be purchased), cash disbursements, etc, to be included, and interest at 6 per cent p. annum on all advances, imports excepted.

<sup>1</sup>"We were all bound upon honor not to make it public before a future period that might be agreed upon. I shall make no other apology for keeping it from you." Alexander Mackenzie to Roderick Mackenzie, Lac la Pluie, August 2, 1791 (L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I, 38).

<sup>2</sup>"Mr. McGillivray paid Mr. Pond £800 for his share" (*Ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup>"The goods to be imported on account of the concern paying the house below 5 per cent at the foot of the invoice; the rest of the expenses as usual, etc." (*Ibid.*)

## Second.

That the furs shall be shiped to England by McTavish Frobisher & Coy on account of this concern, for which they are to be allowed a commission of one half p. cent on the amount. The neat proceeds whereof are to be credited each individual of the company in proportion to the share or shares, he or they hold, so soon as they are carried to the credit of McTavish Frobisher & Coy in England.

## Third.

That Mr Montour & Mr Pangman shall winter and transact the Company's business at Forts des Prairies, Mr Small, Mr McGillivray & Mr MacKenzie, shall winter and transact the business at the English River, and Mr Rob<sup>t</sup> Grant shall winter and transact the business at the Red River; subject however to such changes, as the majority of the Concern present in the summer at this place, shall think most for their interest. But that two of the parties may winter below, each year, in rotation, or as they may agree amongst themselves, upon paying the salary of an able clerk each, to take their places, and to return the year following to their stations, cases of sickness only excepted: Or otherwise to relinquish the one half of what share, or shares, he or they may hold in the concern in favor of such deserving clerk or clerks, as he or they so relinquishing may judge proper, provided they are such as are approved of by the Company; if not, to be settled by ballot; and the person or persons so retiring may retain the other half of his or their share or shares in the concern, without any attendance to the business: it is further understood, and agreed to by the parties who may so relinquish, that the clerks in whose favor they resign shall have the shares on the same principle, as the property is at present calculated to cost at the different posts.

## Fourth.

That for the conducting of the business, one of the house of McTavish Frobisher & Coy, John Gregory and Daniel Sutherland, shall come up annually to this place, unless Mr McTavish's presence in England, shall be found more for the interest of this concern, in which case, the former are to be exempted. And as it is thought

<sup>1</sup>The importance of English River and the Athabaska country is shown very clearly—five shares were represented in this district; four shares in the Fort des Prairies section of the Saskatchewan, an important provision district supplying the English River country; and two shares in the Red River district which supplied provisions for the transport to Grand Portage.

necessary for the interest of the present North West concern,<sup>1</sup> that Mr McTavish should go to England this autumn, that the parties belonging to that concern, subscribing to this agreement, give their assent thereto, on condition of McTavish Frobisher & Co'y making over to Daniel Sutherland<sup>2</sup> one of their twentieth shares, for the two remaining years of said concern, in order to give him weight, to represent their interest in assisting Mr Gregory to manage the Company's affairs here.

Fifth.

In case of the death of any of the parties hereto, before the expiration of this agreement, his or their executor, or executors, may nominate another person, in his or their place to be approved of by the concern; who shall in every respect conform to this agreement.

Sixth.

If all the parties herein, choose to retire from the business at the expiration of this agreement, a small assortment of goods shall nevertheless be sent to the Portage, if judged necessary, but not otherwise, in order to realize, and bring to final close in the most advantageous manner, the remaining business of this adventure, and whatever the clerks, guides, and canoemen, may be then indebted, shall be considered as debts due to this concern, and not otherwise.

Seventh.

The contracting parties most solemnly declare that in the respective departments, in which they may be employed in the management of this business, they will keep faithful and exact accounts of all and every part of their transactions, so far as they are able, and will oblige all clerks and others under their direction to do the same, and further, they shall use every exertion, within the reach of the industry and abilities to promote on every occasion the interest of this concern.

Eighth.

That as all the parties hereto, have or may have other concerns in trade, in no wise connected with this business, and the present

<sup>1</sup>An illustration of the interrelation of agreements in which the agreement of 1790 changed the agreement of 1787.

<sup>2</sup>Reducing the seven shares of McTavish, Frobisher and Co. to six. "Sutherland gets his share out of McTavish, Frobisher and Co. through the latter's interest" (Masson. *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I, 38-9). Daniel Sutherland was apparently from the firm of Sutherland, Grant and Porteous which traded in the Temiscamingue district under various names from 1769 to 1785.

agreement being solely for the purpose of carrying on a joint adventure to the North West; in order therefor to prevent any of the parties from being involved, or in any manner responsible for one another, it is stipulated, and provided, that on no pretence whatever, shall any of the parties sign for, or contract debts for account, or in the name of any of the other parties, without a special power for that purpose.

Ninth.

All persons of what denomination soever, whether principals, or others, who winter in the interior country, or elsewhere, shall deliver, or send to the Portage annually, an exact account of the goods, or other property they had remaining, as also of the peltries and canoemen, they may have left in the country, and as far as they are able, shall produce faithful accounts of their transactions, and the expenditure of the goods, committed to their care the preceding year. The principals who winter, as well as those who come up from Montreal (while on the voyage, and at this place) shall be allowed their personal necessaries, out of the common stock of the concern, and no more, every thing exceeding this limitation, they are required to keep an account of, and either send or bring the same to the portage annually, in order that it may be charged to their accounts.

Tenth.

All difficulties that may arise in conducting this business shall be decided by the votes of twelve shares, which, in such case shall be considered as unanimous in every matter of what nature soever, and the contending party or parties, shall be obliged to submit to it; but in any case where the votes are under twelve, it shall be left to the arbitration and decision of four desinterested persons, men conversant in this business, who, if they cannot agree, shall choose an umpire, and the award signed by such five persons, or any three of them, shall be binding to all parties.

Eleventh.

All persons interested in this concern, shall not upon any account, enter into any new engagements, during the term of this agreement, to the detriment of this concern. This article shall be equally binding upon any one of the concern, who disposes of their share to any other person.

Twelfth.

In case this agreement is dissolved at the end of seven years, and that all the parties choose to continue in this business, on

their separate account, or otherwise, without renewing this concern, in such case, all the goods remaining on hand, clerks, guides and canoemen, who are indebted to the company, whether at the Grand Portage, or in the interior Country, shall be equally divided, according to the different shares. The forts, buildings, and fixed property at the Grand Portage, to be sold in four lots, at public sale, to the highest bidder, and those in the interior country, to be sold in like manner, in single lots, for each post.

Thirteenth.

That whenever either of the parties become worth more money than what it requires to carry on their proportion of the outfits; if left in the hands of Messrs McTavish, Frobisher & Coy, they are only to be allowed interest on the surplus at the rate of five per cent per annum.

Fourteenth.

That the accounts of each years outfit, shall be made up in november, after the goods are forwarded from Montreal, and accounts current with each of the parties to be signed and interchanged yearly.

Fifteenth.

That Mr MacKenzie shall pay to George McBeath a premium of three hundred and fifty pounds current money of the province of Quebec, over and above the stock that will remain on hand in the name of George McBeath in spring 1792, at the prices agreed upon by the article third, upon his relinquishing all pretensions to any interest in the concern, and, that Mr Gregory and Mr Pangman, shall satisfy Normand McLeod<sup>1</sup> and William Holmes, for the good will of the shares, which they hold in the present North west concern, and which form two of their shares in the new concern.

Sixteenth.

That whereas it is judged necessary by the parties hereunto subscribing, to have no witnesses to this agreement, it is nevertheless hereby, most expressly understood, and solemnly declared, to be equally valid, and binding on all parties, in every respect, as if the same had been duly executed in form by a notary public, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Seventeenth.<sup>2</sup>

For the true performance of all and every part of the foregoing

<sup>1</sup>"The latter [McLeod] disposed of his for £200 per annum for I suppose three or four years; the former [Holmes] is not settled with" (*Ibid.*, 38-9).

<sup>2</sup>An important article explaining the effectiveness of the agreement.

articles, each party binds himself unto the others, in the penal sum of five hundred pounds, current money of the province of Quebec, for every twentieth share, to be paid by the party failing to the party observing, or willing to observe, the same.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hand and seals at the Grand Portage, this twenty fourth day of july one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

McTavish Frobisher & Co.

Nicholas Montour

Robert Grant

Pat: Small

Will. McGillivray

D. Sutherland

John Gregory

{ John Gregory by power of attorney for

Peter Pangman

Alex. MacKenzie

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*La nationalité des personnes dans l'Empire britannique.* (Collection d'études théoriques et pratiques de droit étranger, de droit comparé et de droit international, no. V.) Par ROBERT KIEFE. Paris; Librairie Arthur Rousseau; Rousseau et Cie. 1926. Pp. viii, 190.

M. KIEFE has written a straightforward and unadorned book on a singularly neglected field in the history of English law. In several short and well-informed chapters he has consolidated the developments in the English law of nationality, and he has concluded his study with some apposite references to the problems raised in connection with nationality in the oversea dominions of the Crown. M. Kiefe writes as a professional lawyer, but his survey is illuminated throughout by apt parallels from other countries and by illustrations drawn from collateral subjects. As a result he has written a first-class, concise, and suggestive book which will appeal not merely to lawyers, but to that wide and growing public which is interested in the complicated question of Britannic "citizenship". Our only reservation about the work as a whole is that we should have welcomed a larger critical element. For example, M. Kiefe dismisses far too lightly the enormous power granted to the secretary of state under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts, 1914-1922 (p. 76). In addition, the doctrine of local allegiance so emphatically laid down in *Markwald v. the Attorney General* (1920), 1 Ch. 348, however sound in law, raises nice questions as to the nature of the Crown. Is it one and indivisible? Is it broken into several juristic persons—a doctrine with which the courts and jurists of Australia have played? Then, again, M. Kiefe does not examine critically the condition of "statelessness" in English law—a matter first referred to in 1916 (*Ex parte Weber*, 1 K.B. 280; A.C. 421), and not recognized as a legal fact until 1921 (*Stoeck v. The Public Trustee*, 2 Ch. 67).

There are certain points to which attention may be drawn: the common law is misquoted (p. 11); "Lord Coke" (p. 18); "Statute" (p. 136), "1819" (p. 137), "Statut" (p. 162) are incorrect; there are errors in proper names in the bibliography (pp. 184, 186). There is a statement (p. 139) that the governor of a Dominion can act only on the advice of his ministers, which is extremely liable to legal misconstruction and needs resetting. There are one or two important omissions. In dealing with the minor children of a British subject who loses his nationality,

M. Kiefe has not noticed the failure of the attempt in the present Acts to get rid of the problem of double nationality, which was recently illustrated in *Atkinson v. Recruiting Officer (Bury St. Edmunds)*, 116 L.T. 305 (1917). In discussing the acquisition of British nationality by conquest or cession of territory, M. Kiefe does not notice that, from the more general rule that complete title to nationality follows only on cessation of war or on the definitive peace, an important deviation was made in *Gout v. Cimitian*, (1922) A.C. 105. Finally the inadequate reference to naturalization and allegiance in mandated territories needs illumination from the important leading case *Rex v. Christian* (S.A. App. 1922).

The bibliographies are specially valuable for their provision of references to many scattered articles in reviews. There is neither index, nor table of cases, nor table of statutes—a deadly sin in a legal book.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

*The Pathway of Peace: An Interpretation of some British-American Crises.*

By ROBERT McELROY. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1927. Pp. ix, 192.

*American Government and Citizenship.* By CHARLES E. MARTIN and WILLIAM H. GEORGE. New York: Alfred Knopf. 1927. Pp. xv, 764.

*A History of American Foreign Relations.* By C. M. SEARS. New York: Thomas Crowell Company. [1927.] Pp. xiii, 648; map.

THESE three books contain three very different treatments of American foreign relations, but all are alike in one respect, in the very slight attention which their authors have thought it necessary to give to the chief neighbour of the United States. Two of them hardly mention Canada at all. Professor McElroy's thesis in his Watson lectures that "the history of British-American diplomacy has been pre-eminently the history of the search for a substitute for war" might have been illustrated very aptly by the story of our boundary disputes; but in lecturing to English audiences he was no doubt wise to choose illustrations with which they would be more familiar. His very sketchy account of some critical Anglo-American incidents must have been pleasing to his English hosts, with its enthusiasm for Anglo-Saxon solidarity; but it also helps one to understand why Big Bill Thompson gets such large majorities. Messrs. Martin and George's text-book on *American government and citizenship* is an example of the growing interest in American colleges in foreign affairs, for it devotes over 300 pages out of 760 to an analysis of American foreign policies and diplomatic practice. But, while giving detailed accounts of such matters as the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door

in China, it mentions Canada only once or twice incidentally—a striking proof of how little trouble Canada has given the state department at Washington during the last century and a half.

Professor Sears's book gives not an analysis of American foreign policies, but a chronological account of them from colonial days to President Coolidge. It appears to be comprehensive and well-balanced, and, though packed with facts, it quite fails to rise to the level of dullness which is usually considered requisite in American text-books. It is obviously the work of a liberal, and like all the products of the modern American school of historians is entirely free from spread-eagleism. As concerns Canada, Professor Sears gives brief accounts in the proper place in his narrative of all the main incidents in its relations with the United States, and while the narrative is necessarily condensed, it appears to be eminently fair. One wonders why he should stress so strongly the studious observance of American neutrality in the Fenian raids as contrasted with British laxity in the Alabama case, since it was only through the carelessness of the American authorities that the Fenian enterprise could have got under way at all. Following upon this he rather neglects the Canadian side of the Treaty of Washington. And his treatment of the Alaskan boundary question would never suggest to the reader that there was any basis for the Canadian indignation at the remarkable methods by which the majority decision in that case was reached. But these are minor points. The book is clear and readable, and its value to the student is increased by a useful bibliography at the end and by constant foot-note references to the original authorities and to standard modern studies of the various topics with which it deals.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

*Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and his Sons, with Correspondence between the Governors of Canada and the French Court, touching the Search for the Western Sea.* Edited with introduction and notes by LAWRENCE J. BURPEE. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1927. Pp. xxiii, 548; maps.

IF Canada, in its turn, ever erects a Hall of Fame to enshrine its national heroes, there is no doubt that Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye will be among the chosen few entitled to a niche on the sacred walls. The last of the French adventurers who, for a century and a half roamed through the length and breadth of the continent, he ranks with the greatest. It is true that in the end he failed to attain the main object of the mission with which he had been entrusted, namely, the discovery of the Western Sea, but he did something greater. Alone, or with the help of his glorious

sons, he conquered for civilization a new world whose possibilities we are still unable to measure; he paved the way of succeeding generations to that true land of plenty, the fertile plains of the Canadian North West. And this is as good a title as any to the ultimate consecration of glory.

The truth of this has already begun to dawn on the Canadian mind, and, particularly in the North West, where the new consciousness of a national spirit has lately taught that the present, and even the future, of a nation, are linked with its past, we cannot help noticing a revival of interest around the heroic figure of La Vérendrye. Indefatigable researchers continually expend their efforts in attempting to unravel some of the enigmas with which the story of the great explorer's life and labours teems.

When therefore it was announced some time ago that the Champlain Society intended to publish the *Journals and Letters* of La Vérendrye and his sons, and that the care of the edition had been placed in the capable hands of Mr. L. J. Burpee, there was an unfeigned rejoicing among the already numerous historical scholars whose studies lead them to the western field of Canadian history. The promised publication was heralded as nothing less than a boon, every one of those who had ventured to follow La Vérendrye in his arduous exploration having always felt so seriously handicapped by the tedious necessity of hunting for documentary information too widely dispersed, and perhaps still more by the lack of sound and reliable texts.

Now that they have at last appeared, we may safely state that the *Journals and Letters* of La Vérendrye answer in the most satisfactory manner those high expectations. They are a credit, not only to the Champlain Society, whose high standard of publication has been fully maintained, but as well to their able and painstaking editor.

Mr. Burpee has made a lifelong study of the pathfinding of the plains, and his valued work on *The Search for the Western Sea* is already a classic of western history. None probably was better qualified for the object contemplated by the Champlain Society, that of congregating under one cover as much as possible of the documentary evidence pertinent to the La Vérendrye explorations, and he could not but succeed with the task. After a diligent searching through the various archives of France and Canada he has been able to assemble about the famous discoverer as many as seventy-eight different documents in the form of journals, letters, memoranda, and official reports. With only one misplacing among those of 1742, all the documents are published in the chronological order. On each page the French text, which appears to have been collated with the greatest caution, is confronted with a fault-

less English translation. The whole is preceded with an introduction in which Mr. Burpee sums up, with a rare clearness, the extent of our present knowledge of La Vérendrye's travels, and discusses, with a still rarer fairness, some of their controverted aspects. With the addition of a carefully prepared bibliography, of a good index, and of seven maps chosen among the most illustrative of western exploration in the first half of the eighteenth century, Mr. Burpee has certainly succeeded in getting out the most complete work of reference that could reasonably be expected on the subject.

The chief usefulness of the new Champlain Society publication resides in the assembling of historical material which was already known to every trained scholar, but had the disadvantage of being scattered in a score of different places. It is a fact that Mr. Burpee has not printed any new documents of very great importance, but such was not his purpose. Who could blame him for having failed to unearth, for instance, any one of those missing journals of La Vérendrye which he himself deems irretrievably lost? But there is every reason to believe that, when those journals are recovered, as we still hope, in spite of Mr. Burpee's mournful assertion, it will be a matter of sheer luck. Suffice it to say that the present work, as it stands, covers adequately its ground, and this is no mean merit. For our part we confess, with a real satisfaction, that, after a test which we made as severe as we could, we have not met with a single document of importance which has a direct bearing on La Vérendrye's explorations, and which has escaped Mr. Burpee. Our nearest approach to finding the learned editor in fault was when we discovered in a catalogue of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale the following title: "*Entreprise de M. de la Vérendrye pour la découverte de la mer de l'Ouest avec ce qui s'est passé jusqu'en 1732.*" This document belongs to the *Ancien fonds français*, an immense collection which our archivists have not yet had the leisure to explore, and is listed by Mr. J. E. Roy in his *Rapport des Archives de France* as occupying a number of pages of vol. 2551. So far we have been unable to identify it with any of the documents published by the Champlain Society, but it is still possible that, at this distance, we have been deluded by a misleading caption.

Such a suspense, however, would probably have never been occasioned had Mr. Burpee seen fit to indicate in each instance the precise source of his documents. It is perhaps the only real blemish his otherwise remarkable edition of La Vérendrye's *Journals* leaves us to deplore. Anybody engaged in historical pursuits knows how often, in order to dispel a doubt or settle a controversy, it is desirable, if not imperative, to refer from the most reliable second-hand text to the original. By indicating

which of the letters or reports he published belong to *Les Archives de la marine* or *Les Archives des Colonies*, and which to the Margry or the Clérembault Collection, Mr. Burpee would have added much to the utility of his book.

Among the features of the new publication we have mentioned as particularly enhancing its value are the numerous footnotes with which it is besprinkled. These notes, which are of three kinds, geographical, philological, and biographical, contain a wealth of information and are of the most precious help to the student. Truth compels us to say, however, that a few errors have crept here and there into some of the biographical notices. As everybody knows, biography is a most dangerous ground, full of traps, and we must not wonder that even the present editor did not escape all of its dangers. *Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*. But, precisely to prevent Mr. Burpee's reputation from giving them an undue authority, we think wise to point out briefly some of these unhappy misstatements. In nearly every instance, it is a case of referring to a person totally different from the one alluded to in the official text. On page 377, when La Vérendrye writes of Louis Denys de la Ronde, deceased in 1741, the footnote leaves it to be understood that he meant the son, Louis-Philippe Denys de la Ronde. A little further (p. 451), we meet with a still more singular mistake when Arnaud Laporte de Lalanne, an official of the colonial department, who visited Canada in 1740, is mixed up with François de Laporte, Sieur de Louvigny. Let us note again that, on page 460, the Niverville who is retired is Jean-Baptiste, and not his son, the chevalier; that (p. 470), while the Langy who scouted under Montcalm is Jean-Baptiste and not Jacques-Joseph, the chevalier who stands promoted in the official despatch is a third brother by the name of Alexis; that the Lapérade promoted in the same circumstance is not Louis-Joseph, born in 1714, but Jean-Baptiste, born in 1720, and killed at Fort Duquesne in 1755; that (p. 498) the unfortunate Chevalier de Lacorne, who was lost in the wreck of *L'Auguste* is once more robbed of his laurels by his overlauded brother, Lacorne de St.-Luc; and finally that the Villiers who died a major of Three Rivers is erroneously taken (p. 513) for the great Villiers who matched himself with Washington.

As to Pierre de la Vérendrye junior, whose place and date of death are unknown according to Mr. Burpee, we take this opportunity of recalling that he died at Quebec on September 14, 1755, and consequently cannot have served under Montcalm.

For the sake of completeness we finally mention an unpleasant misspelling of some French names, like *Sabrefois* for *Sabrevois*, *Hartel* for *Hertel*, *Jumanville* for *Jumonville*, *Daure de Blanzy* for *Danrê de Blanzy*,

and we come fortunately to a close of this relatively short chapter of criticism.

On the whole, these very few slips do not constitute serious blemishes in a work of this type, being merely incidental. The *Journals and Letters of La Vérendrye* will remain a most valuable addition to our historical literature, a piece of good scholarship, and a worthy monument to the glory of the discoverer of the North West.

ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX

*Feudal Canada: The Story of the Seigniories of New France.* By THOMAS GUERIN. Montreal. 1926. Pp. 251.

Two years ago the province of Quebec offered prizes for essays on various subjects relating to the history of Canada. One of these subjects was "The seigniorial régime in Canada", and Mr. Guerin's book on *Feudal Canada* appears to have been submitted by him in this competition. It has now been published, though it does not appear to have won a prize, and it is our duty to notice it here.

How far one author is entitled to borrow from another is a difficult question. Every historical writer constantly makes use of facts derived from secondary sources; and where the facts are well known it is not always thought necessary to acknowledge the source of information. But there is a limit to unacknowledged borrowings. When an author borrows from another whole pages of text, with only the transposition of a few words, when he follows his secondary authority so closely as to copy his misprints and his errors of fact or translation, and all this without any acknowledgment whatever, one thinks of one or two short Anglo-Saxon terms which might be applied to him.

Yet this is precisely what Mr. Guerin has done. If one compares pages 111-14 of his *Feudal Canada* with pages 167-70 of Professor W. B. Munro's *Seigniorial System in Canada*, one will find that the first is merely a paraphrase of the second. Nor is this an isolated instance. On many other pages the similarities are so pronounced as to be little more than the work of a bad copyist—as where Mr. Guerin says (p. 157) that a certain seigniory was "held in trust by the Indians", when what Professor Munro really wrote (p. 250) was that it was "held in trust by it [the Seminary of St. Sulpice] for the Indians." In other cases Mr. Guerin has copied mistakes which Professor Munro made in his *Seigniorial System in Canada* published in 1907, but quickly corrected in his *Documents relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada* published in 1908. (See for example the two dates of the granting of the seigniory of Port-Neuf on p. 111.) From title-page to colophon there is no mention of Professor Munro's book, and yet it is obvious that this

book was Mr. Guerin's chief reliance. He boasts, indeed, of having gone to the original sources; but the use which he has made of these must have been very slight.

Here and there one finds traces of independent work; but where this is the case the errors are so numerous as to cause regret that the author had not for the moment Professor Munro at his elbow. A good example of Mr. Guerin's undependability, when left to his own resources, is to be found in Chapter XII, which is headed "The Location of the Feudal Fiefs from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Quebec." In this chapter it is stated that the seigniory of La Chevrotière is "mentioned only in the granting of adjacent seigniories" (p. 187). Yet La Chevrotière was one of the best known of the seigniories. It was granted on November 3, 1672, to Mme de la Tesserie, and the deed is printed in *Pièces et documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale* (Quebec, 1852-54), II, 15. On page 184 it is stated, with reference to the seigniory of Godarville (or Gaudarville) that "all the details of this seigniory are lacking, there is no record of the date on which it was granted, by whom, to whom, etc." Yet if the author had looked in the obvious place, he would have found that the deed of this seigniory was issued on February 8, 1652, by the Company of One Hundred Associates to Louis de Lauzon, Sieur de la Citière (*Ibid.*, 383). On page 203 it is stated "that there is no record of the Dutort seigniory . . . the date, grant and grantee are completely unknown." According to the *Actes de foi et hommage* (printed by the Canadian Archives in 1883-1885), the seigniory of Dutort was granted in 1637 to Michel Godefroy; and Catalogne mentions it in his report of 1712 on the seigniories of New France. These are only a few illustrations of the mistakes which Mr. Guerin has made in this chapter—mistakes which make it extremely improbable that he made any extensive use of the original materials at his disposal. If the author has any idea of continuing his work in this field he would do well, first of all, to form an acquaintance with Christopher Dunkin's *Chronological List or Index of Grants en fief made in New France*, a compilation which gives not only the names and dates of all grants, but in each case a reference to the publication in which a copy of the title deed can be found.

W. S. WALLACE

*Inventaire des concessions en fief et seigneurie, fois et hommages, et aveux et dénombremens, conservés aux archives de la province de Québec.*

Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Two volumes. Beauceville: L'Eclairleur, Limitée. 1927. Pp. 304, 303.

IN these two volumes M. Roy has made a very substantial beginning upon the task of inventorying all the official data relating to the seig-

nories of New France. Taking these seigniories, one by one, he gives an exact reference to the copy of the original title-deed in the Quebec Archives and also indicates where a printed copy of the deed may be found—usually in the volume of *Pièces et documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale* which was published by order of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada more than three-quarters of a century ago. In addition, however, he gives references to deeds of augmentation, ratifications of title, acts of fealty and homage, intendant's ordinances, maps and surveys, transfers of title, and other official records, many of which are imbedded in the notarial archives. Every document relating to each seigniorial concession is chronologically listed and its contents carefully summarized. Not only that, but M. Roy has included the sub-seigniories or *arrière-fiefs*, most of which have hitherto eluded attention from students of the subject.

These inventories are of great and permanent value by reason of the thoroughness and accuracy with which the work has been done. To searchers among early land-titles in the province of Quebec they will be invaluable. Twenty years ago, when I was floundering among the *cahiers* and *cadastres*, I would gladly have given their weight in gold for these two volumes. They would have cut months of labour into days. None but those who have been through this travail can sufficiently appreciate the persistence with which M. Roy has tracked every fugitive record to its source. Let one illustration suffice: The most recent writer on the seigniorial tenure (Thomas Guerin, *Feudal Canada*) dismisses the seigniory of Gaudarville with the statement that "all the details of this seigniory are lacking; there is no record of the date on which it was granted, by whom, or to whom the concession was made; the entry merely states that it followed the King's Highway" (p. 184). Yet M. Roy calendars no fewer than ten official documents relating to this fief, including the original grant in 1652, the additional grant of 1653, the *actes de foi et hommage*, the *aveux et dénombremens*, and divers other records (II, 10-14).

As these two volumes do not complete the inventory it is to be hoped that a third volume (and more if necessary) will be forthcoming in due course. With a general index covering the whole compilation, we would then have a notable addition to our pathfinders through the Quebec archives.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

*François Xavier Garneau.* By GUSTAVE LANCTOT. (*Makers of Canadian Literature*, edited by LORNE PIERCE). Toronto: The Ryerson Press. [1927.] Pp. 197.

IT is not often that the reviewer finds a book, more especially a work of Canadian literary and historical criticism, which he can praise so unreservedly. Unfortunately, it is one of a series of very varying merit and can only be obtained by the purchase of a number of other volumes, some of which would merit a very different review.

Mr. Lanctot's book contains 50 pages of biography, 55 of criticism, 65 of extracts from Garneau's writings, a bibliography and an index. The extracts are well-chosen, and the biography and the criticism are sympathetic and judicious. Mr. Lanctot is far removed from the voluble praise which still in Canada sometimes takes the place of literary criticism; he is not afraid to point out the crudities and the provincialisms both of Garneau and of his *milieu*; but he ranks Garneau high, and shows with real understanding the great thing which he did and the great ideal for which he stood; he gives a fair account of his struggles with the ultramontane clergy, and is both sympathetic and restrained.

The French in which Mr. Lanctot writes is lucid and piquant, with a real note of its own. To all who wish a crisp and clear account of Garneau, and of the movement of which he was the chief literary expression, we commend this delightful little book.

W. L. GRANT

*The Theatre of Neptune in New France.* By MARC LESCARBOT, with translation by HARRIETTE TABER RICHARDSON. Boston: printed by the Riverside Press for the Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. xxii, 28; illustrations.

THIS is a reprint, with rhymed translation, of *Le Théâtre de Neptune*, a masque composed in 1606 by Marc Lescarbot to celebrate the return to Port Royal, in Acadia, of the Sieur de Poutrincourt, long absent on a coasting trip along the shores of New England. In August, 1926, a tablet was unveiled at Annapolis Royal in commemoration of this, the first dramatic production in British North America, and on that occasion Mrs. Richardson read the first English translation of the work, originally published in the author's *Muses de la Nouvelle France*, and included in all the early editions of his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. The present reviewer regrets that his own rendering of the *Théâtre*, published a year ago in the *Queen's Quarterly* forestalls the claim of this excellent version to be the first translation printed.

The book contains a prefatory note by Mr. L. M. Fortier, of Annapolis Royal, to whose initiative the commemoration owes its origin and its success, an historical and descriptive introduction by the translator, the text of 1609, Mrs. Richardson's translation, reproductions of contem-

porary maps and prints, and drawings of the masque and the fort in Mr. C. W. Jefferys's happiest historical manner.

Mrs. Richardson's translation is a *tour de force*. She has succeeded in following exactly both metre and rhyme through all their whimsical vagaries. Thus Neptune utters some sixty verses of unbroken Alexandrines; six tritons follow in metres varying from twelve to seven syllables, with assorted rhyme-schemes; and four Indians essay as many species of lyric versification.

The version clings closely throughout to the wording of the original, and is at times so faithful as to make the English rhymes ridiculous. But these are superficial blemishes, and Mrs. Richardson is to be congratulated on completing what she set out to accomplish—an English version, exact in form and content, of the merry lines that old Marc Lescarbot composed in haste to welcome his returning chieftain.

R. KEITH HICKS

*The First Canadian Christmas Carol: Jesous Ahatonhia, Huron Indian Carol (circa 1641).* By Father JEAN DE BRÉBEUF. English interpretation by J. E. MIDDLETON, illustrations by STANLEY F. TURNER. Toronto: Rous and Mann. [1927]. Pp. 15.

THIS little book is a masterpiece of book-production. It is designed as a gift book for the Christmas season (and a very suitable Christmas gift it would be for many persons); but it has also an historical significance. It contains, with an historical introduction, the French version, the literal English translation, and an English interpretation by Mr. J. E. Middleton, of a Christmas carol which, it is said, was composed for the Huron Indians by the gallant Father Brébeuf about 1641. The actual authorship of the carol may perhaps be open to question, since its attribution to Father Brébeuf rests only on the oral tradition of the Huron Indians at Lorette; but it is undoubtedly of an early date, and may well have been composed by Brébeuf about the year 1641. We know that Brébeuf taught the Indians Christmas carols; and it is probable that this is one of them. The original version contains little that is striking; but Mr. Middleton's rendering in English is a charming piece of work.

W. S. WALLACE

*La Colonisation de la province de Québec: Les Cantons de l'Est, 1791-1815.* Par l'Abbé IVANHOË CARON. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1927. Pp. ix, 379.

PRIMARILY this is a study, published with the imprimatur of the archbishop of Quebec, of early land grants within the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. It will be welcomed by those who know the author's

two previous works along the same lines: *La Colonisation du Canada sous la domination française* (1916), and *La Colonisation de la province de Québec, débuts du régime anglais* (1923). By colonization is here implied something more than the concession of public land; it includes as well a discussion of motives behind settlement, and, particularly for the period comprised within this volume, the issue raised as between two races by their juxtaposition in the St. Lawrence valley. Yet the actual work of the land office of Lower Canada and the actual bestowal of grants form the material basis of colonization; and within this more limited aspect of the subject the Abbé Caron offers altogether the best account published. There is nothing pertaining to the records of the land office of Lower Canada, or to the reports of the provincial surveyor general and his deputies, or to the question of the townships as it enters into the official correspondence of Prescott, Milnes, and Craig with the Home government that the author's scholarly patience has not scrutinized. The result is a clear, complete exposition, fortified by sufficient inclusion of documentary material to make the exposition exhaustive. Here is the record circumstantially set forth of the first two million acres bestowed under British dispensation in the area between the St. Lawrence river and the forty-fifth parallel,—also of the first twenty thousand settlers, principally from south of the border, into whose hands this broad domain passed. The marked unevenness or inequality in the size of the grants, the favouritism displayed towards grantees standing in close association with members of the legislative and executive councils, the pernicious stratagem of dummy grantees,—in other words the opportunity of exposing something like a land office scandal, the Abbé Caron tacitly puts aside. In that matter he is content to let the tables of figures speak for themselves. His criticism of the giving away of the townships to American settlers springs from a deeper source of dissatisfaction.

For to him the survival of French Canada is the central theme of Canadian history, and with this historical outlook the injection of English-speaking settlers into the townships,—a region conceived of by French Canada as peculiarly its own,—bears the character of a deliberate, if not a malevolent, trespass. It is in no sense a reflection upon the Abbé Caron to say that, entertaining such a view, he appears to make the most of the officious and vindictive interfering of Sewell and Ryland in promoting the introduction of Protestant settlers, or that he enlarges, perhaps a little unduly, upon the offended susceptibilities of Bishop Mountain, or upon the untoward anglicizing motives behind the promotion of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. Much fresher in its interest is his sketch of the legal obstacles confronting

the canonical erection of Roman Catholic parishes over the newly enfeoffed or newly granted lands: a deterrent for many years of the natural spread of French Canada from its limits of 1791 upon the adjacent areas claimed as its heritage. All these matters are here treated with a purpose in view; and in discussing them the Abbé Caron, perhaps unconsciously, becomes the exponent of a well-defined historical opinion. How totally different, both in colouring and from contrary vehemence, the same subject might be made to seem in the hands of an exponent of the opposite tradition, goes without saying. But since we cannot escape a clash of traditions in presenting the history of the province of Quebec, it is a satisfaction to feel that either tradition is served by such scholarly candour as marks the volume under review.

C. E. FRYER

*Les Juges en chef de la province de Québec, 1764-1924.* Par FRANCIS-J. AUDET. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1927. Pp. 178.

THERE is always room for biographical studies of the lesser known, or secondary, figures in Canadian history; and Mr. Audet has done well in publishing in separate form his sketches of the lives of the chief justices of the province of Quebec or Lower Canada, most of which appeared originally in a French-Canadian law journal, *La Revue du Droit*. As chief of the bureau of information at the Public Archives in Ottawa, Mr. Audet has had occasion to make researches into the lives of a great many figures of the past; and it is to be hoped that the present volume is only a first instalment of the studies he has made. The biographies are moderately brief, but they contain all the essential facts available; and they are based on original research. So far as we have been able to ascertain, they are remarkably accurate in details.

W. S. WALLACE

*Dix ans d'Action française.* Par LIONEL GROULX. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1926. Pp. iv, 275.

THIS volume, which was issued to mark ten years of activity by *L'Action française*, consists of some thirteen papers and addresses prepared by Abbé Groulx at various times since 1912. They have no doubt been chosen as the most forceful expression of the spirit and aims of the society. In such papers as *Méditation patriotique*, *Nos devoirs envers notre race*, and especially *L'histoire et la vie nationale*, the abbé has an excellent opportunity for the elaboration of his particular views on the rôle of the French Canadians in the past and future life of Canada. To Abbé Groulx the French in Canada are a distinct race with characteristics which separate them definitely from the French of Europe as well as from their fellow-

citizens, the English-speaking Canadians. These characteristics, he believes, have been retained by the unceasing diligence of the French people and by the designs of providence, in the face of adverse conditions and of active opposition by the English ever since the conquest. The providential mission of French Canadians to maintain their ideals against the mighty forces of Anglo-Saxon materialism must be kept ever in view. There must be no dilution of effort by any illusory ideas of co-operation between English and French Canadians, and history must be used as one of the most powerful means of preserving and intensifying the nationalistic and exclusive attitude.

That such views are put forward so forcibly is a fact of importance in Canadian life at the present time, though it may well be doubted whether their wide acceptance will help towards a solution of our serious national problems. Issue may be taken with the abbé's views as to the purpose of history, with his interpretations of Canadian history and with his use of historical material (see this REVIEW for December, 1920, p. 396). It is difficult, for example, to see in British policy after the conquest the evidence of a determination to crush out French customs and ideals. Nevertheless, one must recognize the abbé's frankness, the strength of his conviction amounting to a crusading fervour, and the forcefulness of his expression, which at times rises to the point of real eloquence.

GEORGE W. BROWN

*Mackenzie of Canada.* By M. S. WADE. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Ltd. 1927. Pp. xii, 332.

*Mackenzie and his Voyageurs.* By ARTHUR P. WOOLLACOTT. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1927. Pp. x, 237.

*Sir Alexander Mackenzie, explorer and fur trader.* By HUME WRONG. (Canadian men of action series, number IV.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. 171.

WHILE the achievements of the explorers of Eastern Canada have been recognized both in books and monuments for some years past, the same until recently could not be said of the explorers of Western Canada. If at last our western discoverers are coming into their own, the credit is largely due to the leadership of such agencies as the Champlain Society, the National Sites and Monuments Board, and the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Within the last few years monuments, more or less appropriate, have been erected in different parts of the country to commemorate the achievements of La Vérendrye, Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, and Simon Fraser. The Champlain Society has published carefully edited volumes of the narratives of Thompson and La Vérendrye, and this year we have no less than three books on

Mackenzie, with the promise of a new edition of his *Voyages* in a few months.

Dr. Wade, in the foreword to his *Mackenzie of Canada*, notes as remarkable "that no book has hitherto been published giving an account of the life and work of Sir Alexander Mackenzie." That is not strictly correct, as the life and achievements of Mackenzie have been described and discussed in perhaps a dozen different books; but it is correct in the sense that no book has hitherto been devoted altogether to Mackenzie, except his own narrative. Perhaps it is even more remarkable, under the circumstances, that not one but three books on Mackenzie should have been published this year. Without giving way to the temptation to speculate over the causes of this phenomenon, one may at least feel grateful that they were effective.

An inevitable question arises when one finds oneself confronted with three books dealing with the same subject—to what extent does each justify its existence by presenting new information, or by throwing new light upon old facts, or by setting them forth in a clearer and more attractive form? Applying this touchstone to the three books on Mackenzie, I think one may acquit each of them of being superfluous. Dr. Wade, Mr. Woollacott and Mr. Wrong have each added something worth while, either in matter or manner, to the literature of western discovery. Dr. Wade's is the most ambitious of the three. It is more definitely than either of the others a life of Mackenzie. Dr. Wade has been at infinite pains to clear up obscure points, and it may be said that for the first time we now have in his book a reasonably full account of Mackenzie's early years in Scotland and of his latter years in the same country. At the same time, Dr. Wade is scarcely correct in saying that most of the earlier accounts of Mackenzie's activities have been "grossly inaccurate". There have been some minor inaccuracies in all the earlier stories of the explorer's life, but their principal defect has been one of omission rather than of commission. They have told us very little of Mackenzie's life apart from those few crowded years of achievement the original record of which is in his own narrative, and because he fills these important gaps Dr. Wade's book is easily the most valuable of the three, and must be regarded as a very real contribution to Mackenzie literature.

Mr. Woollacott has very little to say of Mackenzie's life, outside the period of his two famous expeditions to the Arctic and the Pacific, but devotes several preliminary chapters to a discussion of the discoveries of earlier travellers in the west, whose work led up to and made possible the more brilliant achievements of Mackenzie. Perhaps Mr. Woollacott's most notable contribution is the fact that he has been over a good deal of the ground covered by Mackenzie on his second expedition,

and uses his personal knowledge to clarify certain somewhat obscure passages in the narrative.

There may be difference of opinion as to the propriety, in what professes to be history, of allowing too much license to the imagination.

Mackenzie appeared, coming down with quick strides, abstracted in manner, and yet with that half-smile of the thoughtful man who acknowledges with innate politeness the interest of the onlookers. . . . Some one tentatively started a *chanson de voyage*, but *En roulant ma boule* was laughed aside in favour of *Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre*, as being more appropriate to the occasion.

This and other passages are not suggestions of what might have happened, but rather profess to be statements of fact. Mr. Woollacott says "Mackenzie had Pond's map", and makes a number of other equally positive statements for which apparently there is no more substantial foundation than his own imagination. That sort of thing is quite permissible in fiction, but it is not history, at least not in this form.

Mr. Wrong's book is a volume in the Canadian Men of Action series edited by Mr. Stewart Wallace, and is designed to tell the story of Mackenzie briefly, clearly, and attractively. All this it does, and probably to the average reader it will be the most satisfactory of the three. It adds little if anything to our knowledge of the explorer, but one who knew no more about Mackenzie than the average Canadian would find himself after reading it in possession of all the essential facts of the story, and with a clear understanding of their relative importance.

One point in Mr. Wrong's book the reviewer is inclined to commend. Nearly all historians who have dealt with the conflict between the North West Company on one side and Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company on the other, have almost unreservedly condemned the former. It is positively refreshing to find a man who is able to see that there were two sides to the question, and that the North West Company and its people were not utterly profligate.

All three books possess the not at all negligible merits of being printed in good type on good paper and equipped with adequate bibliographies, etc.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

*The Capture of Old Vincennes: The Original Narratives of George Rogers Clark and of his Opponent, Governor Henry Hamilton.* Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1927. Pp. xxii, 231.

CLARK's story of his "conquest of the North West" in 1778-9—a document which bears the mark of a shrewd and vigorous character—is here presented in a readable form, considerably modernized as to spelling,

punctuation, and grammar, but otherwise in the words of its author. A like use of original sources has been made by other historians, notably by Parkman, and in the hands of a sympathetic editor the method is remarkably successful. Mr. Quaife has served his author and his reader equally well. Especially worthy of praise are the complete yet brief introduction and biographical foot-notes. The historical scholar will, perhaps, question whether a document which has been so greatly altered should still be termed an "original narrative", but Mr. Quaife's book is for average readers. Hamilton's narrative—a bare report to a military superior, coloured by superstitions concerning the Virginians, disdain for the French Canadians, and disgust at his own barbarous imprisonment—is little more than a foil for Clark's record. Here and there, however, it is marred by eccentricities of spelling and punctuation which ought for the sake of uniformity to have been revised.

A not too familiar chapter in the War of American Independence, the personal record of a warrior-woodsman and typical frontier leader, a lively account of successful amateur diplomacy, a comment upon British policy in the former French Northwest, and some curious anecdotes about the native Indians—by these and other features the book should interest many readers.

MARJORIE GORDON JACKSON

*The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904: A story of the great exploration across the Continent in 1804-06: with a description of the old trail based on actual travel over it and of the changes found a century later.*  
By OLIN D. WHEELER. New edition with introduction by FREDERICK S. DELLENBAUGH. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1926. 2 volumes. Pp. xviii, 337; xv, 419; illustrations and maps.

THIS is a reissue of a standard work on the Lewis and Clark expedition from St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia river and return during the years 1804 to 1806. Wheeler, who was for years connected with the Northern Pacific Railway, made an extensive study of the trail of Lewis and Clark, followed its details often by pack-train, and attempted to explain some of the maddening intricacies of the routes taken by the explorers in crossing the mountain ranges. His work will always be a necessary supplement to the journals of Lewis and Clark.

In a careful introduction to the new edition Mr. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh has been able to shed light on some points, especially regarding the personnel of the expedition, which were still obscure when Wheeler wrote in 1904, but which have been made clear by recent research.

It is interesting to note that Wheeler's book originally appeared

before Thwaites had published his definitive edition of the *Original journals of Lewis and Clark* based on the original codices and that Wheeler's quotations differ considerably from the codices. The following citations will make this evident. Wheeler's version runs thus (quoting Clark's narrative for August 10, 1805):

We . . . came to what the Indians call the Beaver's Head, a steep rocky cliff about one hundred and fifty feet high, near the right side of the river. Opposite to this, at three hundred yards from the water, is a low cliff about fifty feet in height, which forms the extremity of a spur of the [Ruby] mountain about four miles distant on the left.

In Thwaites's edition (II, 328) the passage appears as follows:

Some rain this morning at Sunrise and cloudy we proceeded on passed a remarkable Clift point on the Star<sup>d</sup>. Side about 150 feet high, this Clift the Indians call the *Beavers* head, opposite at 300 yards is a low clift of 50 feet which is a Spur from the Mountain on the Lar<sup>d</sup>. about 4 miles, the river verry Crooked. . . .

It is rather surprising, in view of Fiske's statement that Lewis and Clark were the first white men to cross the continent, and since from the internal evidence in the journals we find that Lewis and Clark knew Mackenzie's *Voyages* and may even have had a copy with them on their journey, that Wheeler does not find place for a line or two about the crossing of the continent by Alexander Mackenzie. To be sure, when Wheeler wrote in 1904, Mackenzie's journeys had not received the publicity they since have, but possibly in the new edition a footnote might have been inserted acknowledging the fact that Lewis and Clark's predecessor reached the Pacific twelve years before they did.

There are a few misstatements in the book. On page 2 of volume I it is stated that La Salle "while on a branch of the Trinity was cruelly murdered by one of his followers." The researches of Professor Bolton of the University of California have shown that La Salle's death took place further to the westward between the Brazos and Navasota rivers, near the present city of Navasota. There are also a few typographical errors, including an interesting rendering of the Greek *κιών* as Kuown (I., p. 180). The maps and illustrations add greatly to the value of the book.

There is already an automobile highway ending at Seaside, Oregon, named the Lewis and Clark Trail. One wonders what would be the feelings of the explorers of 1804-06 if they could see the modern high-powered cars speeding along the route over which they toiled a scant century and a quarter ago!

W. N. SAGE

*On the Old Athabaska Trail.* By LAWRENCE J. BURPEE. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1927. Pp. 259; illustrations.

THIS book is arranged in a novel way. It is made up of extracts from the published writings of travellers who have gone over, or visited, Athabaska Pass, alternated with items by the present author. All these items are represented as having been read out of books by the present author while in camp, or related by him to an audience of one person. Such a collection serves well when the object is to contrast views, but not so well when the aim is to supply a connected narrative. The people for whom the book is apparently intended—those who have studied very little western history—have not the foundation to assimilate various extracts from so many sources. There is, too, a vast difference between a paragraph read as part of a book in which its author has placed it, and read as an insertion in another book. The latter case is like that of an adopted child, bereft of the support of its natural home.

The volume is nicely set up, the illustrations are attractive, though they might be less general, and the book, as written, is undoubtedly interesting, and will be read by many who wish entertainment rather than a serious study of history,—but is such a method of presenting history advisable? The outstanding fault of most modern writings on western exploration is too much generalized repetition, too little painstaking research to explain difficulties and to fill in long felt gaps. Models of royal roads to the study of such history will not tend to mend matters.

The strange remark is made that the book was written with "the idea of rescuing from oblivion the story of some of the fur traders." This idea, combined with the form of arrangement, which, stripped of outer covering, is that of an eastern tourist recounting western history to a western resident, makes one doubt if the author realizes how much study of this historical field has been going on in the West. To one who has lived there for some time, there appears little danger that these early events will be forgotten.

While there is not much that is new in the book, what is told is remarkably free from error, but attention should be called to the mistake made in the statement that Ross Cox "followed the old route down the Athabaska and by way of Methye Portage and Ile à la Crosse lake." That famous portage was one hundred miles off the route from Athabaska Pass. Cox really left Athabaska river at La Biche river, went up to the lake of the same name, and then down Beaver river to La Crosse. Franchère followed the same route, but left Beaver river and went south to Saskatchewan river.

J. N. WALLACE

*The Old Forts of Winnipeg (1783-1927).* By C. N. BELL. Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. 1927. Pp. 39; maps and illustrations.

WINNIPEG is the third city of the Dominion, and affords one of the few cases where a great city has grown up on the site of a fur trading post. Its history, therefore, goes back a long way, and some of the earlier events are necessarily obscure. This article by one who has the immense advantage of long residence combined with much personal research is, therefore, worthy of much attention, and readers will find many facts which are not elsewhere recorded. Commencing with the earliest tangible records, the author thinks it quite possible that La Vérendrye's son or nephew visited the forks of Red and Assiniboine rivers in 1736, two years before Fort Rouge was built, but he discredits the building of any fort there before Fort Rouge, despite "Fort Maurepas" being shown at the forks on a map of 1737. This entry he believes was a mere anticipation of a transfer, mooted in that year, across Lake Winnipeg. Fort Rouge itself, the author points out, was not built by La Vérendrye, as is almost universally stated, but by Lemarque, though at the time the former had a post further west. The first British post was a temporary one by Boyer in 1780, when, after beating off a desperate attack on his post up the Assiniboine, Boyer retreated to the forks. The succeeding posts are described with much care, the author, in a praiseworthy manner, reserving his space for facts not already "covered by a multitude of writers, who have written everything from fact to fiction." Several illustrations and rare maps accompany the text, though the reproduction of the latter is not very clear. Government offices might well facilitate the reproduction of maps for such articles. Maps present a great difficulty and expense for individual writers.

J. N. WALLACE

*The Passes of the Rocky Mountains along the Alberta Boundary.* By J. N. WALLACE. Calgary: The Historical Society of Calgary. 1927. Pp. 8.

FEW people realize that on the Alberta border there are some sixty passes, good, bad, and indifferent, leading across the Rocky Mountains. But of them the traders and Indians used only eight or nine. Amongst those stand out the Howse pass, which gave the first entry into the Columbian country, and the Athabaska pass, for over fifty years the regular line of travel to and from that region. Mr. Wallace has done a valuable and much-needed work in collecting and collating the scattered information concerning these different passes. The identification of places on the routes, bearing forgotten names or referred to in a casual

or descriptive way by the travellers, renders this pamphlet really useful to the student who, unfamiliar with the vicinity, strives to locate the different spots. Every reader of Simpson's *Voyage* can now, with Mr. Wallace's assistance, easily follow the great governor from Edmonton through to Windermere. Mr. Wallace believes that Warre and Vavasour travelled in 1845 by Whiteman pass and that the immigrants of 1841 used the same route. Warre and Vavasour, in their report of October 26, 1845, state that they passed through a defile in the Rocky Mountains in about  $50^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. The author also seems to regard with suspicion—the basis of which does not appear—the two meetings of these officers with Father De Smet, S. J. On the first page are two strange slips of the pen: the new district formed in 1862 was the Stickeen (not the Skeena) Territories; and the Simpson river of the 1858 boundary of British Columbia is not the Skeena, but the Nass.

F. W. HOWAY

*Fort Langley, 1827-1927: A Century of Settlement.* By DENYS NELSON. Vancouver: The Art, Historical, and Scientific Association. 1927. Pp. 31.

ONE phase of historical work which has scarcely been undertaken in the West is that of local compilation. The absence of such handbooks prevents the popularization of the subject; for the story must be culled bit by bit from a dozen volumes. This little book comes in response to an insistent public demand for a complete and connected account of Fort Langley. The story of that post has been much discussed in the recent past: in 1924 in connection with the centenary of the preliminary expedition; in 1925 at the erection of a memorial cairn and tablet by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada; and in 1927 at the centenary of the establishment of the fort. Attention has thus been centred on the only remaining building of the fifteen or twenty that composed the post in the days of its glory. Beginning with a brief reference to the Indian tribes who inhabited the region, the author touches upon Fraser's descent of the river in 1808 and shows the determination of the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain the control of the coast trade then monopolized by the "Boston pedlars." Out of that resolution came Fort Langley. McMillan's exploring expedition of 1824, his constructive expedition of 1827, and Governor Simpson's visit in 1828 are all touched in outline. Then follows a sketch of the life in the post, the growth of its importance, the decrease of its fur trade, and the increase of its agriculture and its fishery. The commanding position of Langley in the transportation system of the Hudson's Bay Company is described, and a neat reference is made to its crowning

political glory as the birthplace of the Colony of British Columbia. The brochure is remarkably free from errors; it is well printed and tastefully illustrated.

F. W. HOWAY

*The Romance of British Columbia.* By ARTHUR ANSTEY. Toronto: W. J. Gage & Co. 1927. Pp. 216.

THIS little volume does not pretend to offer a complete history of British Columbia. It is concerned only with the period of adventure: the days of Cook and Vancouver; of Mackenzie, Fraser, and Thompson; of the land fur trade; and of the gold excitements. The manifest purpose is to make the reader feel the lure of the romance of those colourful periods; to sketch to the life the men whose names are household words in the province; and, by a plain but thrilling account of the dangers they faced in its exploration and development, to arouse a deep and lasting interest. And in this the author has succeeded. The story is told with a charming simplicity which but increases the inherent romance and attraction of the scenes shown and the adventures described. The first chapter, which serves as a preface, is the weak spot in the book. It strikes too low a note and is reminiscent of the pedagogue striving to descend to the level of childish understanding. But in the second chapter—with which the book might well have begun—the author entirely abandons that style and, getting into the full swing of his story, develops its incidents very naturally and sweeps the reader breathlessly along from adventure to adventure. In chapters nine and ten, describing the brigades and the life in the forts, he has well caught the atmosphere of the time. These chapters have much of the natural realism of Ballantyne's *Hudson's Bay*, a book which recounted the author's own experiences. Yet, withal, historical accuracy has been preserved. A careful examination discloses no errors of any moment. On page 59 the author has, we think, properly and correctly placed the delay from 1793 to 1805 upon the internal troubles of the "Nor'westers" and the bitter struggle with the seceding members who had formed the X Y Company.

F. W. HOWAY

*In the Privy Council. In the matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula, between the Dominion of Canada of the one part and the Colony of Newfoundland of the other part.* 12 vols. [London]: Charles Russell and Co., Solicitors for the Dominion of Canada, and Burn and Berridge, Solicitors for the Colony of Newfoundland. [1927]. Pp. 4217; 131; 178; 1027.

THESE twelve volumes contain the full report of the recent litigation between Canada and Newfoundland before the Privy Council in regard to the Labrador boundary. Their primary interest is, of course, legal; and the last two volumes, which contain the oral proceedings and the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, will be of great value to lawyers. Seldom has a great case been so carefully prepared on both sides and argued with such conspicuous ability. The greater number of the volumes, however, will appeal even more to the historian than to the lawyer. The documents printed in what is described as a "joint appendix" traverse the whole field of the history of Newfoundland and Labrador, and constitute a collection of original materials relating to these territories such as is to be found nowhere else in print.

One may instance only one illustration of this fact. There are few features of the history of Canada about which it is so difficult to find full and reliable information as the history of what were known as the "king's posts." On certain aspects of the history of this territory part of the litigation depended, and the Canadian experts collected everything relating to it which seemed to have any significance. The result is that in Volume VII we have over 600 pages of original material, most of it never before printed, illustrating the history of the "king's posts" in the greatest detail.

A very large number of the documents contained in these volumes appear, in fact, to be material never before made readily accessible in print, and the student of the history of Newfoundland and Labrador will find them an invaluable mine of information. It ought perhaps to be added that the volumes are printed in an expensive and sumptuous style far beyond the means of most agencies who have the publication of historical materials.

W. S. WALLACE

*The Builders of the Republic.* By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. (*The pageant of America: a pictorial history of the United States.* Edited by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL and others. Volume VIII.) New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company. 1927. Pp. 352.

*The American Spirit in Art.* By FRANK JEWETT MATHER, Jr., and others. (*The pageant of America: a pictorial history of the United States.* Edited by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL and others. Volume XII.) New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company. 1927. Pp. 354.

WE have to notice two new volumes in the illustrated history of the

United States entitled *The pageant of America* which is being published by the Yale University Press in conjunction with the Canadian firm of Glasgow, Brook and Company. Of these, the volume entitled *Builders of the Republic* is of the greater interest from the standpoint of Canadian history. It deals with the period of the French and Indian wars and with the American Revolution. As a storehouse of illustrative material dealing with these periods, it yields much that is of interest to the student of Canadian history, and especially to the student of the United Empire Loyalists. There are reproductions of old and rare broadsides, and of contemporary cartoons, as well as of the paintings of modern artists. The letterpress is, of course, decidedly sketchy; but it is, within its narrow limits, very well done, and is, so far as the present reviewer has been able to ascertain, almost free from error.

The volume on *The American spirit in art* deals with painting, sculpture, graphic arts, and music, subjects which (with the possible exception of music) lend themselves with especial facility to the idea of a pictorial history. The volume makes, however, practically no attempt to go beyond the confines of the United States, with the result that while the work of an occasional Canadian artist is noted, the book leaves the impression that there have been no painters or sculptors of note born north of the Great Lakes or the forty-ninth parallel. Why the editors should have included Wyatt Eaton and Horatio Walker and ignored painters like Jacobi, Kreighoff and many others, is not immediately apparent, if their object was really to trace the development of the "American Spirit" in art.

W. S. WALLACE

*A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927.* By W. STEWART WALLACE. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1927. Pp. x, 308; illustrated.

*The History of Victoria College.* By NATHANIEL BURWASH. Toronto: The Victoria College Press. 1927. Pp. xviii, 571; illustrated.

*The Jubilee Volume of Wycliffe College.* Toronto: Wycliffe College. 1927. Pp. 302; illustrated.

THIS is a year of commemorations. Besides the jubilee of the Dominion of Canada we have seen the University of Toronto celebrating its centenary, Trinity College its seventy-fifth, and Wycliffe College its fiftieth year of existence. As a memorial of its century of life the University has published a history, written by Mr. Stewart Wallace, in which the whole story of the last hundred years is for the first time told in one narrative. It is unnecessary, and perhaps inexpedient, to say more to the readers of this REVIEW.

Another university history of great importance is the long expected *History of Victoria College*, which the late Dr. Burwash was known to have been engaged upon up to the time of his lamented death, and which is now issued under the editorial care of Dr. F. H. Wallace. It is a most valuable and interesting record of a great achievement. The early heroic days of Methodism in Canada are well illustrated in the first chapters which relate the foundation of the Upper Canada Academy and its desperate struggles for continued existence. The devotion and self-sacrifice which went towards the completion of the first building in Cobourg should never be forgotten. Dr. Burwash has done well to record the names of so many of those zealous pioneers in education. It is perhaps not always realized in how many aspects of education they were the pioneers in Ontario. The Methodist Book Room, a distinctly educational enterprise, was established in 1829, the same year as the church newspaper, the *Christian Guardian*. The foundation of Upper Canada College in that year undoubtedly prompted that of the Upper Canada Academy in the following year. But the founders of the latter held a very advanced point of view when they provided for women students as well as men in the same institution. It is true that this first step towards the higher education of women was reversed ten years after the opening of the Academy, when the latter changed its name to Victoria College and acquired university powers. But co-education was reintroduced before the University of Toronto accepted it, by the admission of women to matriculation in 1871, and to lectures in 1878. Again, it was in connection with Victoria College that the first local examinations for matriculation were held. It is also worth noting that Victoria College was the first degree-conferring college in actual operation in Upper Canada, having preceded King's College by two years.

Much of the volume deals with the University Question, as it came to be called. The privileged position of the state college was fiercely attacked at frequent intervals during more than twenty years prior to 1868, and the impelling motive was undoubtedly the financial difficulties under which the denominational colleges laboured during those years. Dr. Burwash's account of this controversy is frankly one-sided. He presents the case as it appeared to the supporters of Victoria College. The text of a memorial or report is frequently quoted as if it were the final word on the subject, and arguments and expressions used in support are not balanced by any mention of arguments used on the other side. An interesting contrast is presented by the treatment of this period in Mr. Wallace's *History*. He goes behind all documents and statements to try to ascertain the motives which prompted them or the actual situation which gave rise to them. A good instance of the different

attitudes is the chapter in each book on the University Question from 1860 to 1867. One would hardly realize that the same events are being discussed. Undoubtedly Mr. Wallace supplies the livelier narrative.

But it is in the chapters on the federation movement from 1883 to 1890 that Dr. Burwash is at his best. He himself was a leader in the movement and after Dr. Nelles's death became the head of the party supporting federation. The vividness of the story he tells is partly due to his own participation in the struggle, and his final judgment, looking back after twenty-five years, as to the tremendous issues that hung upon the question, is very impressive. One of the finest incidents of the struggle was his own attitude when the last stand was made against federation in the Senate of Victoria University. A resolution to give the statutory notice of the federation of Victoria with the University of Toronto was carried by 24 votes to 3. Dr. Burwash, as chairman, with impressive earnestness and simplicity disclaimed any feeling of pleasure at announcing the result of the vote and expressed his sympathy with the sentiments of those who had lost the fight. His characteristic kindness and moderation were never so well illustrated as in this speech, and it was these qualities which insured the success of federation by disarming its opponents and turning them into loyal supporters. The triumphant progress of Victoria College since federation is the theme of the later chapters. Everything seemed to conspire to make the college a brilliant success. Buildings and endowment have been generously provided, the teaching faculty greatly strengthened, while the roll of students has increased by leaps and bounds. It is pleasant to know that Dr. Burwash himself lived to see the full fruition of the movement he had done so much to initiate.

The volume issued in commemoration of the jubilee of Wycliffe College is a record rather than a history. It comprises a number of chapters by different contributors, some historical, some biographical, others an exposition of principles. Professor Dyson Hague gives briefly but clearly an account of the origin and subsequent history of the college. It is a remarkable story; a small group of earnest and energetic men, associating themselves to maintain certain aspects of their faith which they thought were in danger of being neglected, decided after a few years of militant activity that a new divinity school was needed, and in the face of serious opposition from the recognized college of the Anglican Church in Ontario and from the bishop of the diocese they carried out their design triumphantly. Beginning in a small way they succeeded in establishing an institution which, fifty years later, could boast of a roll of graduates in divinity rivalling that of the elder institution. The quality as well as the quantity of the output was acceptable

to the Anglican Church at large if we may judge from the fact that seven bishops have received their training in the college, and that other important offices in the church have also been filled by Wycliffe men. It is remarkable and significant that one-fifth of its graduates volunteered for missions either in foreign countries or among the Eskimos and Indians of Canada.

Much of the success and enthusiasm which have distinguished the progress of Wycliffe College was due to the influence of the first principal, Dr. Sheraton, and a chapter by Canon Cody fittingly describes his career. His scholarship as well as his zeal and purity of character set a stamp upon the college from its very beginning. Another chapter, by Archdeacon Armitage, gives an account of the foundation and history of two great Canadian schools, Ridley College for boys, Havergal College for girls, both owing their existence to the same group of men who established Wycliffe College, and both intended to provide in ordinary juvenile education opportunity for the same religious teaching and atmosphere as Wycliffe College enjoyed.

H. H. LANGTON

*The Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., Supplement.* Edited by SIR CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Toronto:

The Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. 199.

Not long before his death in March, 1927, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper the second son of Sir Charles Tupper, Bt., issued this volume, which he described as a supplement to the *Life and Letters* of the dead statesman written by E. M. Saunders, D.D., and published in 1916. It is a short, comprehensive sketch of the outstanding phases of Sir Charles Tupper's quite remarkable career, bringing down the narrative to the close of his life. The task, which was in the nature of a filial duty, is done simply and without flourish, but the book adds little of historical and biographical importance to what is already known or accessible. There is no index.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

*The Royal Montreal Regiment: 14th Battalion, C.E.F., 1914-1925.* Edited and compiled by R. C. FETHERSTONHAUGH. Montreal: The Gazette Printing Company. 1927. Pp. xv, 334.

"THE 14th Battalion, Royal Montreal Regiment, will lead the attack." This comprises the fourth paragraph of the Third Brigade orders issued for the now historic battle known as the attack on the Canal du Nord, the zero hour for which was 5.20 on the morning of September 27, 1918.

As a matter of historic fact, the Royal Montreal Regiment did lead the attack.

Advancing behind the rolling barrage [they] crossed two water and wire filled ditches and moved steadily toward the banks of the canal. . . . Tumbling down into the great ditch at 5.45 a.m., the men of the 14th climbed the opposite bank and re-formed to continue the attack. Driving through thick belts of wire, the attacking companies swung to the left as ordered and pushed towards their objectives in the Red Line. . . . [By 7.30 a.m.] Major Price had the satisfaction of knowing that his forward companies had seized, and were holding, the Red objective. . . . [As a result of the fighting] the 14th Battalion had captured approximately 450 prisoners, more than threescore machine guns, a number of trench mortars, an anti-tank gun and much material. . . . In offset to these gains the Battalion had suffered a casualty list of over 200.

It is in this wise that Mr. Fetherstonhaugh has told the stirring history of the Royal Montreal Regiment from August, 1914 to April, 1919. The volume describes the achievements of over six thousand men throughout 1721 days, of which 1487 were in France, Belgium, and Germany in the face of the enemy. If old Homer could now write a new *Odyssey* he would here have ample material for ten times the twenty-four books he devoted to *Odysseus*. While there are some Canadian infantry regiments and many British ones whose numbers and casualties exceeded the 14th, attention must be drawn to the figures given by this historian, wherein the total of the nominal roll was 6270 in the five years (1018 being authorized strength), and 1124 officers and other ranks were killed, and in addition 3277 were wounded. The Appendices, containing information of these numbers, the weekly, almost daily, itinerary, various battles and the names of all officers and men with their honours and decorations, will alone create great interest in this book for the members of the regiment and their friends.

From the time of the regiment's first baptism of fire in the memorable Second Battle of Ypres, with its murderous gas attack in April, 1915, until the concluding battles of the Hundred Days in the autumn of 1918, the history is full of intense interest. Seldom does one read, in similar histories, such minute details of military operations of the individual actions and life of the various portions of the regiment and its members. As a means of giving an insight into the business of fighting under modern conditions and under the circumstances which were imposed in this war, this book will form a valuable addition to our war literature. The author is to be congratulated upon his clear descriptions, his graphic accounts of actions and his selection of material, which must have entailed a great deal of compilation, research, and study of documentary evidence. One feature which will be particularly interesting and useful

is the inclusion of detailed orders for operations, sometimes in substance only and sometimes even verbatim.

Descriptions and incidents connected with raids into the enemy's trenches have always produced an interest, both during and since the war. For the soldiers themselves, a raid certainly had some peculiar attraction. It probably is bred in the blood and bone of our adventurous and energetic race. The reviewer well remembers the first trench raid carried out in the war; it was in November, 1915, and was "put on" by the Canadians. The recollection of the details of its preparation, execution and results, with which his staff duties connected him, are still very vivid in his memory. The detailed description of the raid by the 14th on February 28, 1917, will be interesting reading to soldiers and public alike. The orders issued were for a party of 3 officers and 83 men and some of the instructions are significant:

Zero hour will be 2 a.m. The limit allowed in enemy trenches is 15 minutes after zero. . . . The signals to return will be the . . . blowing of a bugle and the burning of ground flares on the enemy's parapet. . . . All killed or wounded *must* be brought in.

The time-table of events of the raid subsequently reported is shown divided into one and two minute periods and speaks for itself. One minute in No Man's Land or in an enemy trench is a long time!

"In conjunction with the Third Army, the Canadian Corps will take Vimy Ridge." This was the heading of an operation order in April, 1917. The author devotes eleven pages to the "taking" and another eight pages to the "holding" of the Ridge by this one battalion alone. The wonderful organization for this battle and the precision with which it was carried out under General Byng, the then Corps Commander, is reflected in the description of this battalion's own movements and actions.

The chapters describing "Germany's Great Effort" in the spring of 1918, the summer fighting and the subsequent "Hundred Days" to the conclusion of the Armistice are exceptionally interesting, not only from a regimental point of view but in a general manner as well. Sometimes the author has ventured into the realm of strategy, perhaps beyond the usual scope of a regimental history, but often that is necessary in a degree to obtain continuity. The divisions of the Canadian Corps saw no heavy battle fighting in the great German offensive of March and April, but they steadfastly did their part in holding their Vimy Ridge, although British lines were desperately attacked on their flanks at the end of March. They were prepared, and literally would have carried out Sir Douglas Haig's famous order: "Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement . . . each one of us must fight to

the end." It would have been appropriate if the historian had also included General Currie's similar inspiring order issued at the same time to the Canadian Corps. To stand still and rigidly hold a trench front under searching and sometimes continuous shell fire was, perhaps, the most desperate portion of the soldier's lot in the war. The author gives a grim instance of what can happen as the result of a single shell. The loss in a moment of the night during this time, when the regiment was not fighting but in reserve, of its four senior officers in their sleeping quarters, was hard to bear. The regiment's losses in the memorable month of August, 1918, during and following the notable attack and victory of the 8th, were very heavy. It was, however, the supreme effort. Everyone was doing his utmost, fighting and marching and marching and fighting with the glorious result that the enemy was driven back through and beyond the Hindenburg Line, and it was the prelude to the final victory terminating the Hundred Days. But at what a cost! In this battalion alone, the historian quotes the colonel as stating: "During the past month [August] I have lost 37 officers, 8 of whom were company Commanders . . . and practically the whole of my Senior N.C.O.'s." This in a battalion whose authorized strength was 46 officers.

This absorbing regimental history concludes with what perhaps is the greatest tribute that a body of resolute soldiers could wish for after a long five years of fighting. General Sir "Archie" Macdonell, their division commander in the latter years, wrote, "During the years of my command, they never failed me." They can now go down in history proud in their traditions.

C. H. MITCHELL

*The Fur Trade of Canada.* By H. A. INNIS. (University of Toronto Studies: History and Economics.) Toronto: University of Toronto Library. 1927. Pp. 172.

THE title of this volume of moderate dimensions might possibly suggest certain erroneous anticipations. It might be supposed to include a sketch, at least, of the romantic historical incidents connected with the early explorations of Canada from various inlets on the north Atlantic coast. We find, indeed, that something further in that line may yet be expected from the author's pen. The purpose of the present volume, however, is much more restricted, being confined to a treatment of the Canadian fur trade simply as one of the typical industries of the country. It is, in fact, the first of a series of studies dealing with the chief industries of Canada, which is being prepared by the economics department of the University of Toronto. This volume, it appears, is based on a number

of returns or reports prepared by various persons, either regularly connected with the fur trade in different parts of the country, or students of the university who were instrumental in collecting and arranging the basic material in special lines assigned to them.

As a result, the greater part of the volume consists of details of the fur trade as at present carried on. First, we have a survey of the different types of animals whose pelts are sought to meet the prevailing demands of comfort or fashion. The first, however, except where the wearer is still near to nature, is a diminishing factor, while the latter grows by leaps and bounds, introducing quite a variable element. This in turn involves much ingenuity on the part of the fur dressers in particular, to meet the fluctuations of fashion with the minimum of disturbance to those parts of the industry connected with the procuring of the furs. Thus, the same pelt may ultimately appear on the market in a variety of forms; one creature's coat appearing in the guise of another, with as much ingenuity as that often displayed by the ultimate wearers themselves. In other words, since furs have become so largely articles of luxury, they have ceased, increasingly, to be connected with the ordinary senses, having risen to the much more complex and specialized region of social psychology. It is this which calls forth all the resources and ingenuity of the chief manufacturers to meet the requirements, first, of the leaders of fashion, and, secondly, of their devoted followers and imitators. Thus the primitive wearer of the fur, such as the muskrat of North America, or the opossum of Australia, may remain as unpretending and honest as you please, so long as the fur is in his possession. Once he is robbed of it, however, it is difficult to predict under what name or guise it may flourish in those psychological social circles where appearance is everything, and deception one of the primary features.

However, our author and his associates have not troubled themselves much with the psychological factors lying beneath the market demands and prices. They simply take the results apart from the ultimate causes, and these are humdrum enough to those chiefly occupied with the furs, from the original trapper in the wilderness, to the bland hypnotist who presides over the luxurious fur parlours frequented by the ultimate consumers. Most of the volume, therefore, is occupied with carefully collected data duly classified, tabulated, and diagrammed, giving us the results of supply and demand with resulting prices, in the most unemotional form. Then various secondary conditions affecting the primary ones are duly set out in equally prosaic guise, such as the conservation of the normal fur supplies obtained from nature, and the recently developed field of fur farming.

Under the section on the manufacture of furs it is noted that the

pressure of modern demand, backed by increasing wealth, has exploited the more or less secret processes of certain specialists in the trade. The manufacture has thus come to be standardized and capable of successful reduction to tabular form. Backed by statistical returns, there is abundantly demonstrated the already rather obvious fact that the fur trade, while so far exhibiting steadily increasing prices, which bring out an increasing volume of supply, is nevertheless threatened with a decline in volume, owing to the encroachments of human society on the habitats of the fur-bearing animals, and the increasing facilities for capturing them.

The work of the author and his associates affords ample evidence of extended and careful research in the field of the recent and present condition of the fur-trade. The same research, however, affords evidence of more or less rapidly changing conditions in the industry, suggesting the reflection that several of the aspects here presented may more or less rapidly pass out of date, requiring a re-survey of the field.

The volume is supplied with a quite good index, as also a bibliography, which, however, confines itself almost entirely to quite recent publications. There are also several appendixes. The first, which reproduces some old tables of the export of furs during the French period, seems rather superfluous in a volume dealing only with recent conditions, and ignoring all other reports of the earlier periods. The other three appendixes are quite modern, giving a trapper's outfit in 1924, a statement of the chief trappers' supplies, and a list of mis-named furs in ordinary trade.

ADAM SHORTT

*Pooling Wheat in Canada.* By WALTER P. DAVISSON. Illustrated.

Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers. 1927. Pp. 275.

THIS volume from Western Canada is an enthusiastic description of the work which has been done in the last few years in organizing the Canadian wheat pools. It is a book conceived in the ecstatic mood and liberally sprinkled with exclamation points. Its value will be chiefly in interpreting for readers the attitude of the West and the enthusiasm, reasonable and unreasonable, which lies back of the phenomenal development of the pool method of marketing.

The book contains a very readable popular account of the way in which the pools operate in the marketing of grain, but does not go deeply into the analysis of their operations. The writer is evidently dominated by the oratory of Aaron Sapiro, the not-always-discriminating apostle of co-operation. Indeed, an entire chapter is devoted to the aphorisms of this attorney, whom the author compares to Paul of Tarsus

as the apostle of the new era. The place which Sapiro holds in the book is interesting less because of the wisdom of his words than because of the evidence given of his power in the prairie provinces.

It is hardly fair to criticize the book as being wanting or superficial in analysis, as it scarcely purports to be more than a survey of the pool's operations designed chiefly for general and popular use. One cannot but regret, however, that the author does not face some of the more important problems which have confronted the pool and which have brought about to some extent a change of front. We hear much less in these days of the possibility of controlling the world price for wheat, although the author still insists that the up-turn in 1923 was due to the activities of the pool. Much greater stress is being laid on the advantages which accrue to the farmer through the further control of his product and through the prudence enforced by pool payments distributed throughout the year. Although it is still contended that orderly marketing brings increased returns to the farmer, there is less insistence on the matter of price and more insistence on questions of service and stability. The writer touches on the unsatisfactory relationships between Canadian millers and the wheat pool, but has no comment to offer. He does not touch on the vital question of whether the activities of the pool in undertaking direct marketing in Europe have on the whole been successful. The pool has endeavoured to substitute itself for the thousands of brokers and commission men who bought and sold grain for English and Scottish millers. It is a question whether it has not been able to gain this direct trade with the new and untried organization chiefly because of a shading of prices to the Old Country millers. Charges to this effect have been frequently made by the pool's competitors and the matter has never been satisfactorily analysed. Another point which requires further study is the wisdom or unwisdom of the pool's invasion of the elevator field. From the point of view of a pure marketing organization it is doubtful if such a venture was wise. If, however, the purely selling activities of the pool are likely to decrease rather than increase, the ownership of an elevator system may well prove an anchor to windward.

There is no doubt, even assuming unsatisfactory results from the Canadian pools, that the enthusiasm engendered in the past few years will have sufficient momentum to carry the organization a long way. Aside from that enthusiasm, however, there is also little doubt that, as in former cases, the organized farmers will prove capable of taking advantage of their experience, and there are already indications that the pool organizations may in ten years' time be substantially modified both in structure and in operation. That they will in some form be still in

existence and that the Western farmer will more and more control his own destiny in the field of marketing is not to be questioned. The chief value of Mr. Davisson's book is that in an interesting way it will make clear to the reader the origins and development of the great popular movement out of which the pools have grown.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

*Geld und Geist. Vom Wesen und Werden der Amerikanischen Welt.* Von

M. J. BONN. Berlin: S. Fischer. 1927. Pp. 191.

PROFESSOR BONN is one of the leading German experts on the United States, and in his previous book on the subject (*vide THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, June, 1926, p. 188), he also dealt very ably with French Canada. Although he again visited the Dominion last year, passing through the prairie provinces and British Columbia to Prince Rupert and along the Pacific coast, Canada is not dealt with in the present volume to any great extent, and then mostly by comparison. Nevertheless the professor's volume will prove very valuable to Canadian readers, for it mirrors the spirit and psychology of the United States in a manner that has perhaps only been equalled in recent times by Sir R. Falconer and M. André Siegfried. For the Canadian seeking an objective view of his neighbour the author supplies the picture. Those, and there are many, who see no difference between Canada and her great southern neighbour will find just where the differences lie in this brilliantly written little book; the utility of which suffers considerably for lack of an index. Chapter IV dealing with immigration should serve as a warning to Canada that any attempt to make the country a melting pot in which eastern and south-eastern Europeans can be fused with what people are now fond of calling by that very unscientific term "Nordics", is doomed to failure. Herr Bonn also compares the results of the haphazard immigration policy of the States (still haphazard, in spite of the quota), with the present Canadian system:

Sorgfältig ausgewählte Einwanderer werden in den kanadischen Häfen und an den Bahnhöfen von besonderen Agenten abgeholt. Sie werden unter behördlicher Aufsicht auf Farmen verteilt, wo sie die Technik des westlichen Lebens kennens lernen. Die Landgesellschaften geben ihnen nicht unglücktete Stellen, sondern suchen sie in der Regel auf Farmen anzusiedeln, die sie selbst oder der Staat bereit- urbar gemacht haben (p. 150).

If Professor Bonn had not been dealing almost exclusively with the United States he might have gone further and added that, however wise Canadian immigration policy is in doing everything to prevent failures, it is not a policy which will people Canada as speedily as the requirements of the country need. Canada with her vast railway and canal

systems, her huge hotels, power-works, etc., is very much in the position of a youth whose parents have put him into a suit of clothes several sizes too large for him in the hope that he will grow into them. To continue the metaphor, till he has grown, the suit is liable to get in his way, and if he does not grow at the expected speed there is considerable danger of its wearing out before he is big enough to wear it with comfort.

L. HAMILTON

*The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs.* Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. 1926-27. Toronto: Canadian Review Company. 1927. Pp. 844. Illustrated.

THIS excellent annual volume enters on the second quarter-century of its existence in better form than ever. The plan adopted on the death of its founder, the late Mr. Castell Hopkins, of assigning the various chapters to special writers, is still followed, though only a few of the chapters now bear the names of their authors; and the death of Sir John Willison has removed from the advisory editorial committee a figure whose name was a guarantee of the high standards which the *Review* had always set before it.

There are comparatively few new features in the *Review*. There are the usual chapters on "Dominion politics", "International relations", "Relations with the Empire", "Labour conditions", and so forth, and on the affairs of the various provinces, as well as lists of Canadian books of 1926, and the useful annual obituary. Note should be made, however, of the section by Mr. W. A. Deacon on "Literature, history, art, music and drama", and by Professor G. A. Cornish on "Scientific development." There is also a useful statistical survey of the year 1926 in Canada.

The volume is copiously illustrated, and has the usual full and elaborate index. There is probably no volume published in Canada which is so generally useful, and indeed indispensable, as the *Canadian Annual Review*. From any point of view it is a work of reference which occupies a unique position.

W. S. WALLACE

*The Place of Captain Cook's Death.* By W. F. WILSON and W. A. WALL.  
*The Pae humu of Heiaus Non-sacred.* By THOMAS G. THRUM. *The Death of Captain Cook: some account of the contemporary illustrations.* By STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS. *Captain Cook's First Visit to the Hawaiian Islands.* By GEORGE GILBERT. In the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society. Honolulu, Hawaii. 1927. Pp. 56-72.

THE forthcoming celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands has intensified the interest in Captain Cook and especially in his association with those islands. The first article, in the form of a series of letters, is an effort to identify the exact spot where fell the great circumnavigator. It claims that a white cross painted on the rocky shore of Kaawaloa, Kealakekua bay, and frequently pointed out as the place, is in reality a surveyor's mark. Photographs and a map are included to show the right location, according to tradition. The second refutes by a lengthy quotation from native sources the oft-repeated statement that the taking by Captain Cook of the images which adorned the *heiau* (temple) enclosures interrupted the existing friendly relations. These *pae huma* images, it is shown, were never worshipped, were mere ornaments, and were frequently used as fuel by the natives themselves. The third article reproduces and discusses the relative historical value of the four contemporary drawings of the death of Captain Cook. These are: the well-known picture by John Weber, the artist of the voyage and, in all probability, an eye-witness; another by John Cleveley based upon a sketch made by his brother, the carpenter of the *Resolution*; a third by C. Garter, whose representation of the scene was probably obtained by piecing together the accounts of different survivors; and, lastly, that of D. P. Dodd, which is based upon Weber's. The final article is a reproduction of a few pages of George Gilbert's narrative dealing with the arrival at Kauai, the first island of the group to be discovered. This account of Cook's last voyage by one of the midshipmen is a recent acquisition by the British Museum. The Hawaiian Historical Society has now published two selections therefrom. These samples tell such an interesting story and throw so much light on the incidents of the voyage that it is hoped that some historical society will issue the complete manuscript.

F. W. HOWAY

*Ueber Kiwatins Eisfelder, drei Jahre unter Kanadischen Eskimos.* Von CHRISTIAN LEDEN. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1927. Pp. 286; illustrations.

THE author is a Norwegian who served an apprenticeship as a student of Eskimo manners and customs in Greenland, where he acquired an adequate knowledge of the Eskimo language. Having learned what he could from the Greenland Eskimos, who have been more or less affected by generations of association with white men, he determined to continue his investigations among more primitive tribes and decided to visit the comparatively unknown region on the west side of Hudson Bay.

His adventures are described in this volume with a good deal of diffuseness and unimportant description of journeys by sea and land in the company of natives. He spent three and a half years, from 1914 to 1917, alone among the Eskimos, ranging from Fort Churchill to Southampton Island, most of the time in the coast region, within a hundred miles north and south of Chesterfield Inlet. Besides collecting for ethnological museums both in Germany and in Canada objects used by the natives, he made notes of their habits and superstitions, all of which have considerable value, although he does not appear to have discovered anything absolutely new in regard to his hosts and companions. Exploration of the country did not enter into his programme.

H. H. LANGTON

*Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan and Caddoan tribes west of the Mississippi.* By DAVID I. BUSHNELL, Jr. (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 83.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1927. Pp. 103.

Most publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology have consisted of the results of ethnological investigations in the field. This volume, however, comprises a series of compilations, drawn from various published sources. The scope of the work is indicated by the title, if the significance of "burial" be extended to include methods of disposal of the dead in which the body is laid on the surface of the ground, or exposed upon a platform. Much information has also been gathered about beliefs concerning the fate of the deceased. The tribes whose death practices are described formerly inhabited the great plains of North America; included in the author's survey are descriptions of the rites of several Algonquian- and Siouan-speaking peoples resident in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

It has been generally believed that one of the places in which man's conservatism is most clearly shown is in connection with the disposal of the dead, and for this reason a comparative study of funeral customs has been a favourite clue to the ethnologist in reconstructing the history of a particular area. Recently, evidence has been brought forward indicating that death rites are less stable than had been previously assumed.<sup>1</sup> The author's data show conservative survivals in these matters, as well as change due to the influence of environment. The interaction between these two factors is one of paramount importance in any psychological study of man's social and ceremonial life, and Bushnell brings forward illuminating evidence on this point.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Kroeber, *Disposal of the dead*. (*American Anthropologist*, July-September, 1927, p. 313).

He has consulted a large number of old documents, quoting at length from early explorers and travellers. His work is copiously illustrated with reproductions of drawings and photographs, which add greatly to its interest. Its value as a reference book would have been increased if a chart had been prepared showing the geographical distribution of the different types of disposal of the dead found within the area considered, such as illustrates work of a similar kind in other continents.<sup>2</sup> The desirability of summarized findings and maps in any comparative work cannot be overestimated, and it is surprising that these have been omitted in a work which gives evidence of so much careful preparation.

T. F. McILWRAITH

*Klallam Ethnography*. By ERNA GUNTHER. (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 5, January, 1927, pp. 171-314).

THE Klallam Indians formerly lived on the south side of the Strait of Juan de Fuca with fishing posts on the north shore in southern British Columbia. Within recent years, however, a number of the people have moved across to Vancouver Island so that they must now be considered as a semi-Canadian tribe. Linguistically, the Klallam are akin to the Coast Salish, especially to the Saanich, Songish, and Sooke. Their cultural affinities are also with the peoples of Vancouver Island.

Dr. Gunther (Mrs. Leslie Spier) has been investigating the Klallam for a number of years. An earlier volume dealt with their mythology, this deals with their ethnology. The scope of the volume is excellent. After an introduction dealing with their cultural affinities, the authoress describes their houses, means of livelihood, handicrafts, and clothing. Then follow chapters on social life, birth customs, marriage, burial rites, social classification, secret societies, religious life, and the potlatch. The information contains much detail and gives every indication of care and accuracy. Dr. Gunther obviously knows the people and has made the most of her opportunities for collecting data in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties due to the decay of ancient customs. The Klallam clearly belong to the north-west coast culture, although many of their practices are less highly developed than those of tribes further north. Especially interesting is the account of their social life. The tribe is split up into two classes dependent, in a rather vague way, upon wealth. The chiefs in former times endeavoured to arrange marriages with influential members of other tribes, a phenomenon of considerable importance to the sociologist.

<sup>2</sup>Cf., for example, Küster's *Das Grab der Afrikaner* (*Anthropos*, Bd. 14-15, pp. 639-728, also Bd. 16-17, pp. 183-229 and 913-959).

This book is a comprehensive work suited to the student, not to the general reader. Accordingly, the style is of relatively little importance, although one could wish that Dr. Gunther had devoted a little more time to the presentation of her material; in many cases this seems to have been a mere typing out of her field notes which has led to a somewhat telegraphic form of expression. The authoress has frequently been unable to obtain the detailed information she would have desired, thus illustrating once more the urgent need for field study before the culture of the Indian has been entirely swept away.

T. F. McILWRAITH

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(*Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.*)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

BORDEN, Sir R. *The Imperial Conference* (Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, July, 1927, pp. 197-207).

A summary of the processes by which the Dominions have "advanced to nationhood" with the expression of the view that the last Imperial Conference contributed nothing to this advance, although it brought into perspective certain facts and called for the correction of anomalies.

DUNN, F. S. *The new international status of the Dominions* (Virginia Law Review, March, 1927, pp. 354-379).

A review of Dominion "status" in the ten years preceding 1926, with a comment on the last Imperial Conference.

EWART, J. S. *Canada, the Empire, and the United States* (Foreign Affairs, October, 1927, pp. 116-127).

An informing and critical study of Canada, the British Empire, and the United States of America.

KIEFF, ROBERT. *La nationalité des personnes dans l'Empire Britannique*. (Collection d'études théoriques et pratiques de droit étranger, de droit comparé et de droit international, no. V.) Paris: Librairie Arthur Rousseau. 1926. Pp. viii, 190.

Reviewed on page 322.

NEWTON, A. P. *The Imperial Education Conference—an impression* (United Empire, August, 1927, pp. 443-445).

A review of the temper, meaning, and discussions of the recent Imperial Education Conference.

### II. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

BERNARD, HARRY. *La dame Blanche*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française. 1927. Pp. 223.

A collection of historical tales illustrating various aspects of Canadian life.

BONN, M. J. *Geld und Geist; vom Wesen und Werden der Amerikanischen Welt*. Berlin: S. Fischer. 1927. Pp. 191.

Reviewed on page 355.

KENTON, EDNA (ed.). *The Indians of North America*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1927]. Two volumes: pp. xvii, 597; 579.

To be reviewed later.

LAUREYS, HENRI. *La conquête des marchés extérieurs*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française. 1927. Pp. 314.

To be reviewed later.

LONGSTRETH, T. MORRIS. *The silent force: Scenes from the life of the Mounted Police of Canada*. London and New York: The Century Co. [1927]. Pp. xiv, 383; illustrations. (\$4.00.)

To be reviewed later.

MACMECHAN, ARCHIBALD. *The book of Ultima Thule*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1927. Pp. 368.  
 To be reviewed later.

MARTIN, CHARLES E., and GEORGE, WILLIAM H. *American government and citizenship; American political theory, government and politics, international relations*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1927. Pp. xv, 764.  
 Reviewed on page 323.

RUSSELL, JASON ALMUS. *Thoreau: The interpreter of the real Indian* (Queen's Quarterly, July-August-September, 1927, pp. 37-48).  
 Henry David Thoreau's interpretation of the Indian character expressed in *The Indian Notebook*, *The Week*, and *The Maine Woods*.

SEARS, LOUIS MARTIN. *A history of American foreign relations*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. [1927.] Pp. xiii, 648; map. (\$3.50).  
 Reviewed on page 323.

THRUM, THOMAS G. *The paehumu of heiaus non sacred* (Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1927, Annual Report, No. 35).  
 Reviewed on page 356.

(2) **New France**

ANGERS, P. *Les seigneurs et premiers censitaires de St.-Georges-Beauce et la famille Pozer*. Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Limitée. 1927.  
 A study in local history and genealogy.

CATHELINEAU, EMMANUEL DE. *Études sur Roland Michel Barrin de la Galissonnière* (Nova Francia, 24 août, 1927, pp. 274-283).  
 Notes on one of the governors of New France.

CONSTANTIN-WEYER, M. *Cavelier de La Salle*. Paris: Les Editions Rieder. 1927. Pp. 285.  
 A popular account of the life and work of La Salle, written in a vivid and dramatic style.

DELALANDE, J. *Le Conseil souverain de la Nouvelle-France* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1927, pp. 168-183).  
 An examination of the powers, work, and history of the Sovereign Council of New France.

*Les fêtes en l'honneur de Pierre Boucher à Montagne-au-Perche, les 20 et 21 août 1927* (Nova Francia, 24 août, 1927, pp. 241-252).  
 An interesting ceremony held in France to commemorate the work of Pierre Boucher in Canada in the seventeenth century.

GUYON, LOUIS. *Etude généalogique de Jean Guyon et ses descendants*. Montreal: Mercantile printing 1927. Pp. 132; illustrations.  
 A genealogical study of the descendants of a settler who came to Canada in 1634.

LAFARGUE, ANDRÉ. *The French governors of Louisiana* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, September, 1927, pp. 156-167).  
 A tribute to the French governors of Louisiana and the part played by them in colonial and administrative evolution.

LA ROQUE DE ROQUEBRUNE, R. *Aymar de Clermont-Chatte, gouverneur de Dieppe et lieutenant-général de la Nouvelle France* (Nova Francia, 24 août, 1927, pp. 266-273).  
 A valuable account of the governor of Dieppe who was appointed lieutenant-general of New France in 1603.

LESCARBOT, MARC. *The Theatre of Neptune in New France, presented upon the waves of Port Royal the fourteenth day of November, sixteen hundred and six, on the return of the Sieur de Poutrincourt from the Armouchiquois country.* The French text, with translation by HARRIETTE TABER RICHARDSON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. xxii, 28; illustrations. (Edition limited to 450 copies.)

Reviewed on page 331.

LEYMARIE, A.-LÉO. *Le fondateur de Montréal: Paul de Chomedey, sieur de Neufville, de Bourg-de-Partie, de Saint-Chéron et de Maisonneuve 1672-1676* (Nova Francia, juin, 1927, pp. 207-211).

Some details about the founder of Montreal.

MAURAUT, OLIVIER, p.s.s. *Le Bienheureux André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur et sa famille.* Montréal. 1927. Pp. 30; illustrations.

The story of a French ecclesiastic who was born in New France, and was put to death in Paris during the French Revolution.

PIERCE, LORNE. *Sieur de Maisonneuve.* (Ryerson Canadian History Readers.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. 24.

The story of Maisonneuve and the founding of Montreal, illustrated by Charles W. Jefferys.

SUTHERLAND, J. C. *Jacques Cartier.* (Ryerson Canadian History Readers.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. 31.

A narrative of Cartier and his voyages to North America.

— *Marquis de Montcalm.* (Ryerson Canadian History Readers.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. Pp. 30.

A brief and vivid sketch of the career of Montcalm.

### (3) British North America before 1867

BARTLEMAN, J. *H.B.C. posts, Keewatin district: No. 5. Fort Alexander* (Beaver, September, 1927, pp. 66-67).

A brief synopsis of the history of Fort Alexander, known also as Bas de la Rivière, Winnipeg House, or Sieurs Fort.

BEROTH, JANET. *The convention of Saratoga* (Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association, July, 1927, pp. 257-280).

An investigation to discover in how far the terms of the capitulation at Saratoga for Burgoyne's army were carried out, and in what ways there were infractions on both sides.

DEMERS, PHILIPPE. *Le général Hazen, seigneur de Bleury-Sud: Essai de monographie régionale.* Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1927. Pp. 18.

An address delivered before the Société Historique de Montréal, telling the story of Moses Hazen, who went over to the Americans during the War of the American Revolution.

FORTESCUE, Hon. Sir JOHN (ed.). *The correspondence of King George the Third, from 1760 to December 1783, printed from the original papers in the royal archives at Windsor Castle.* In six volumes. Vols. I (1760-1767) and II (1768-1773). London: Macmillan and Co. 1927. Pp. xviii, 530; xvi, 532. (\$7.50 a vol.)

To be reviewed later.

GILBERT, GEORGE. *Captain Cook's first visit to the Hawaiian Islands* (Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1927, Annual Report, No. 35).

Reviewed on page 356.

GRISWOLD, BERT J. (ed.). *Fort Wayne, gateway of the West, 1802-1813: Garrison orderly books, Indian agency account book*. Indianapolis; Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department. 1927. Pp. xi, 690; illustrations and maps. Documents relating to the early history of Fort Wayne which have some bearing on the war of 1812.

HUDLESTON, F. J. *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne: Misadventures of an English general in the Revolution*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. [1927.] Pp. 367; illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

MONARQUE, GEORGES. *Un général allemand au Canada: Le baron Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel*. Montréal: Editions Edouard Garaud. 1927. Pp. 160. A biography of a German general who served with the British forces in Canada during the American Revolution.

PHILLIPS, STEPHEN W. *The death of Captain Cook: Some account of the contemporary illustrations* (Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1927, Annual Report, No. 35). Reviewed on page 356.

QUAIFE, MILO M. (ed.). *The capture of old Vincennes: The original narratives of George Rogers Clark and of his opponent Governor Henry Hamilton*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1927. Pp. xxii, 231. Reviewed on page 337.

— *Detroit biographies: Daniel de Joncaire de Chabert*. (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, vol. VI, No. 1.) Detroit: Detroit Public Library. 1927. Pp. 16. A biography of the founder of the Detroit line of Chabert, who came to Detroit in 1768 and died in 1771.

RICHARDS, FREDERICK B. *Lord Howe or Colonel Roger Townshend buried in St. Peter's in Albany* (Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association, July, 1927, pp. 241-245). The evidence in favour of the argument that Colonel Townshend, who was killed at Ticonderoga in 1759, is buried in St. Peter's Church in Albany.

SUTHERLAND, J. C. *General Wolfe*. (Ryerson Canadian History Readers.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. 31. An account of the life and death of Wolfe.

*Treaties and agreements affecting Canada in force between his Majesty and the United States of America, with subsidiary documents, 1814-1925*. Compiled in the Department of External Affairs. Ottawa: F. A. Acland, King's Printer. 1927. Pp. 578. A new edition of a collection of documents originally published in 1914.

WADE, M. S. *Mackenzie of Canada*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1927. Pp. xii, 332. Reviewed on page 335.

WILSON, W. F. and WALL, W. A. *The place of Captain Cook's death* (Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1927, Annual Report, No. 35). Reviewed on page 356.

WOOLLACOTT, ARTHUR P. *Mackenzie and his voyageurs*. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1927. Pp. x, 237. Reviewed on page 335.

**(4) The Dominion of Canada**

AMUNDSEN, ROALD. *My life as an explorer*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1927. Pp. 282; illustration and maps.  
 Contains a chapter on Amundsen's famous conquest of the North West Passage in 1914-6.

*The Canadian annual review of public affairs*. Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. 1926-7. Toronto: The Canadian Review Co. 1927. Pp. 844. Illustrated.  
 Reviewed on page 356.

COLQUHOUN, A. H. U. *Sir John Willison* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1927, pp. 159-162).  
 A biographical sketch of the life and work of Sir John Willison, with an appreciation of his character and ideals.

FERLAND, JOSEPH. *De Québec à Victoria* (Canada Français, octobre, 1927, pp. 103-118).  
 The conclusion of an article describing a trip across Canada made by a professor of Laval University.

GRACE, J. G. *Canada as a world power* (Review of Reviews, June, 1927, pp. 634-6).  
 A suggestive estimate of Canada as a power.

HARRIS, W. ERIC. *Stand to your work: A summons to Canadians everywhere*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1927.] Pp. 209.  
 A discussion of some current Canadian problems.

WITTKO, CARL. *Canada's diamond jubilee* (Historical Outlook, October, 1927, pp. 260-3).  
 A brief outline of Canadian history.

**III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY****(1) The Maritime Provinces**

BREBNER, JOHN BARTLET. *New England's outpost: Acadia before the conquest of Canada*. (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University: Number 293.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. Pp. 291; map. (\$4.50).  
 To be reviewed later.

MACKINNON, MURDOCH. *The cradle of empire* (Queen's Quarterly, July-August-September, 1927, pp. 21-27).  
 A commemoration of the first legislature of Nova Scotia, representing "the first instance of parliamentary government in what is now the Dominion of Canada."

**(2) The Province of Quebec**

*Les anciens du Séminaire: Ecrivains et artistes*. Joliette. [1927.] Pp. 211, xiv.  
 Biographical sketches of authors and artists who have graduated from the Seminary at Joliette, in the province of Quebec.

AUCLAIR, Abbé ELIE-J. *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Joseph-de-Soulanges, ou Les Cèdres (1702-1927)*. Montréal: Imprimerie des Sourds-Muets. 1927. Pp. 417. (\$1.50).  
 The history of a French-Canadian parish west of Montreal.

CLARK, JAMES B. M. *French and English in the province of Quebec* (Nineteenth Century September, 1927, pp. 327-336).  
 A discussion, by a visitor to the province of Quebec, of the bilingual problem in Canada.

LAMB, CHARLES. *The old benchers of the Inner Temple*. With annotations by Sir F. D. MACKINNON. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1927. Pp. xxvii, 77. (\$6.50.) Contains a full biographical sketch of Francis Maseres, attorney-general of Quebec from 1766 to 1769.

MCGRATH, Hon. Sir PATRICK T. *The Labrador boundary decision* (Geographical Review, October, 1927, pp. 643-660). An account of the litigation before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council between Canada and Newfoundland over the Boundary of Labrador, decided in March, 1927, in favour of Newfoundland.

POULIOT, J. CAMILLE. *Historical reminder: Quebec and the isle of Orleans*. Quebec. 1927. Pp. 224; illustrations. An historical guide-book to Quebec and its environs.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Inventaire des concessions en fief et seigneurie fois et hommages et aveux et dénombremens conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec*. Beauceville: L'Eclaireur, Ltée. 1927. Two volumes. Pp. 304; 302. Reviewed on page 329.

SAINTE-MARIE, GEORGES-HENRI. *Premières expériences de scoutisme canadien-français* (L'Action Française, juillet, 1927, pp. 46-52). An account of the boy scout movement among the French-Canadians.

TORRY, EUPHEMIA. *Summer in the Laurentian Mountains* (United Empire, August, 1927, pp. 464-467). A description of the lake district of Quebec.

WOODWORTH, ROBERT H. *Notes on the Torngat region of northern Labrador* (Geographical Review, October, 1927, pp. 632-642). An account of a scientific expedition from Harvard University which visited north-eastern Labrador in the summer of 1926.

### (3) The Province of Ontario

BROCK, A MAUDE (CAWTHRA) (comp.). *Brock family records*. Toronto: 1927. Pp. 153. A privately printed family genealogy.

*Les garanties du français et le règlement XVII: Dialogue entre Nicolas Longtin, maître d'école, et Louis Bérubé, ouvrier*. Montréal: L'Imprimerie du Devoir. 1927. Pp. 64. A discussion of bilingual schools in Ontario.

YOUNG, A. H. *Bishop Strachan after sixty years* (Willison's Monthly, November, 1927, pp. 227-231). An estimate of the permanent elements of value in Strachan's contribution to the making of Canada.

### (4) The Western Provinces

BURFEE, LAWRENCE J. *On the old Athabasca trail*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1927. Pp. 259. Reviewed on page 340.

*Narratives of Saskatoon, 1882-1912, by men of the city*. Prepared by a committee of the Historical Association of Saskatoon. Saskatoon: The University Book-Store. 1927. Pp. 96. A history of the city composed of narratives of pioneers and prominent citizens.

NELSON, DENYS. *Fort Langley, 1827-1927.* Vancouver, B.C.: Art, Historical, and Scientific Association. 1927. Pp. 31.

Reviewed on page 342.

PIERS, Sir CHARLES. *Pioneer ships on Pacific coast, Part five* (Beaver, September, 1927, pp. 68-9).

A continuation of a descriptive list of pioneer ships from eighteen hundred to the early eighties.

REID, R. L. *The Whatcom trails to the Fraser River Mines in 1858* (Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1927, pp. 199-206).

The first instalment of the story of the trails constructed from Bellingham Bay to the Fraser River Mines, the difficulties encountered in their construction, and the reasons for their failure.

WILSON, E. H. *San Juan Island* (Beaver, September, 1927, pp. 70-71).

Some facts about one of the islands near Victoria which gave its name to the dispute known as the "San Juan Boundary Question."

#### IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

BLADEN, V. W. *Operating combination in Canadian industry as revealed in the census of manufactures* (American Economic Review, September, 1927, pp. 601-604).

A valuable statistical review of operating combination in industry in Canada.

*Canada: I. A survey of the economic situation* (Round Table, September, 1927, pp. 799-811).

An outline of the economic history of the Dominion since 1900, and an estimate of the financial and industrial situation at the present time.

*Canada: II. The Anglo-Russian trade agreement* (Round Table, September, 1927, pp. 811-812).

A note on the trade arrangement with Russia, its application to Canada and the termination of the agreement.

*Canada: III. The United States and Canadian "Commuters"* (Round Table, September, 1927, pp. 812-815).

A discussion of the regulations promulgated by the United States Department of Labour applying the status of immigrants to the people who reside in Canada and find their regular employment in the United States.

DAVISON, WALTER P. *Pooling wheat in Canada.* Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers. 1927. Pp. 275.

Reviewed on page 353.

DAWSON, C. A. *Population areas and physiographic regions in Canada* (American Journal of Sociology, July, 1927, pp. 43-56).

A topographical and physiographic study of Canada in relation to settlement, population, and social structure.

INNIS, H. A. *The fur trade of Canada.* Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1927. Pp. 172.

Reviewed on page 351.

#### V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

[L'ACTION FRANÇAISE.] *Nos doctrines littéraires* (L'Action Française, août, 1927, pp. 72-84).

A consideration of French-Canadian literary ideals and methods.

[L'ACTION FRANÇAISE.] *Le problème de notre vie morale* (L'Action Française, juillet, 1927, pp. 5-16).  
 An analysis of social and moral problems in Quebec and some remedial suggestions.

BARBEAU, C. M. *Twelve French-Canadian folk songs*. Collected orally by C. M. BARBEAU, English translations by HAROLD BOULTON. The music arranged by ARTHUR SOMERVELL. London: Boosey and Company. 1927. Pp. 39.  
 A collection of French-Canadian songs.

BRÉBEUF, Father JEAN DE. *The first Canadian Christmas carol: Jesous Ahatonhia, Huron Indian Carol (circa 1641)*. English interpretation by J. E. MIDDLETON. Illustrations by STANLEY F. TURNER. Toronto: Rous & Mann. [1927.]  
 Reviewed on page 332.

L'Institut Scientifique Franco-Canadien (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1927, pp. 196-211).  
 On the formation of an intellectual liaison between France and Canada.  
*The jubilee volume of Wycliffe College*. Toronto: Wycliffe College. 1927. Pp. 302. Illustrated.  
 Reviewed on page 345.

LAMBERT, ADALARD. *Journal d'un bibliophile*. Drummondville, Qué.: "La Parole", Limitée. [1927.] Pp. 142.  
 The reminiscences of a collector of Canadian books.

LANCET, GUSTAVE. *François Xavier Garneau*. (Makers of Canadian Literature edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. [1927.] Pp. 197.  
 Reviewed on page 330.

LISMER, ARTHUR. *A short history of painting with a note on Canadian Art*. Toronto: Andrews Bros. 1926. Pp. 32.  
 A brief history of painting compiled for the use of teachers of art history and art appreciation in the schools and for art students, with a note on the tendency of Canadian painting.

MAURAULT, OLIVIER. *Joseph Marmette: Le roman historique au Canada* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1927, pp. 212-232).  
 An introduction to the historical romances of Joseph Marmette.

NANT, R. P. CANDIDE DE. *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne: Une mission capucine en Acadie*. Précedé d'une préface de M. EMILE LAUVRIÈRE. Montreal: "Le Devoir". 1927. Pp. xv, 338, maps and illustrations.  
 To be reviewed later.

SANDIFORD, PETER. *The inheritance of talent among Canadians* (Queen's Quarterly, July-August-September, 1927, pp. 2-19).  
 The presentation of certain facts gathered from intelligence tests given to Canadians and the interpretation of these facts in relation to immigration.

WALLACE, W. S. *The history of the University of Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1927. Pp. x, 308. Illustrated.  
 Reviewed on page 345.

## VI. ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

(Contributed by T. F. McIlwraith.)

ALEXANDER, HARTLEY BURR. *L'art et la philosophie des Indiens de L'Amérique du nord*. Paris: Leroux. 1926. Pp. 118.  
 Reviewed on pp. 170-172.

**BELL, CHARLES NAPIER.** *A prehistoric copper hook* (The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transaction No. 2, New Series, March, 1927, pp. 8).

In 1884 a copper hook, thirteen inches long, was found near the Pic River, north of Lake Superior. The interest of the object lies in the fact that it was discovered, with remains of charred wood, at the base of a natural cleft in a knoll, covered with undisturbed glacial clay. This find has, accordingly, an important bearing on the antiquity of man in America.

**CADZOW, DONALD A.** *Expedition to the Canadian Northwest* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 1, January, 1927, pp. 61-63).

During 1925 Mr. Cadzow of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, visited twenty-three Indian reserves in Saskatchewan and Alberta in search of ethnological material. His results are briefly summarized in this article. Several valuable ceremonial bundles were obtained, comparisons made between the Bush and Prairie Cree, and evidence found concerning the relationship of the Assiniboin to the Yankton Sioux.

— *Objects from the Canadian Northwest* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 2, April, 1927, pp. 132-137).

The material culture of the semi-nomadic Athabascan-speaking tribes of Alberta and British Columbia was never rich, even in pre-Columbian times, and has now almost entirely disappeared. Descriptions are given in this article of a number of objects collected sixty years ago. They include a moose-skin girdle and coat from the Nahane, and two pipes from the Dog-ribs.

— *Smoking tipi of Buffalo-Bull the Cree* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 3, July, 1927, pp. 271-280).

A few of the Prairie Cree of Saskatchewan still offer a sacrifice of smoke on the recovery of an individual for whom prayers have been made. The elaborate ritual requires the erection of a special tipi, the construction of a shrine in it, and the preparation and painting of a number of articles used in the ceremony. The author describes the rite in considerable detail, with excellent illustrations of the objects, and explanations of the symbolism involved.

**DENSMORE, FRANCES.** *The study of Indian music in the nineteenth century* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 1, January-March, 1927, pp. 77-86).

The first specialized study of Indian music was made in 1880 by Baker, a German. Miss Densmore traces the increasing interest in the subject from that date up to the end of the century. The article is well annotated and contains many references to specific works.

**FAUSET, ARTHUR HUFF.** *Folklore from the half-breeds in Nova Scotia* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1925, pp. 300-315).

This is a collection of fifteen brief Micmac stories, comprising accounts of incidents, several trickster tales, and miscellaneous legends. The influence of English, French, and Negro stories is evident, but the material is useful for comparative purposes.

**FOSTER, MRS. W. GARLAND.** *Stone images and implements, and some petroglyphs* (Museum Notes, issued by the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C., Vol. I, No. 3, October, 1926, pp. 14-16).

A note on several human figures, carved in stone, from British Columbia, including one in the Vancouver Museum.

**GIRAUXT, L.** *Gravures coloriées sur dents de morse des Esquimaux de l'Alaska* (Journal de la société des américanistes de Paris, Tome XVIII, 1926, pp. 91-102).

The artistic ability of the Eskimo is shown by their realistic carving upon ivory, a characteristic most highly developed among those resident in Alaska. Illustrations and descriptions are here given of walrus tusks with coloured designs.

GODDARD, PLINY EARLE. *Facts and theories concerning Pleistocene man in America* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 2, April-June, 1927, pp. 262-266).

The author accepts archaeological evidence from several sites in the southern states as proving conclusively the presence of man in America in Pleistocene times. He considers that certain wide separation of tribes of the same linguistic stocks is due to migrations contemporaneous with the retreat of the ice.

GOODFELLOW, JOHN C. *The secret of the totem pole* (Museum Notes, issued by the Art Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C., Vol. I, No. 3, October, 1926, pp. 8-11).

A description of a visit to Alert Bay and Fort Rupert in quest of information concerning meanings of the designs on totem poles in Stanley Park, Vancouver. GUNTHER, ERNA. *An analysis of the first salmon ceremony* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 28, No. 4, October-December, 1926, pp. 605-617).

The taking of the first salmon in the spring is marked by more or less complicated ritual among many tribes of the Pacific coast between northern British Columbia and northern California. The fish are, however, used over wider areas than those in which ceremonial occurs. The importance of the salmon necessitates respect to it, an extension of the deference paid to many animals.

— *Klallam ethnography* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. I, No. 5, January, 1927, pp. 171-314).

Reviewed on page 359.

HARRINGTON, M. R. *The age of the Norse bronze implement from Canada* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 3, July, 1927, pp. 281-283).

In *Indian Notes*, October, 1926, the author described a Norse bronze implement from Ontario, and expressed the opinion that it might have been brought by some Scandinavian explorer of the tenth century. European experts, whose comments are quoted, agree that the article is of much earlier date.

HINSDALE, WILLIAM G. *Old Iroquois needles of brass* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 2, April, 1927, pp. 174-176).

Bone awls were commonly used by the Iroquois in pre-Columbian days, usually, perhaps always, unperforated. In later times, eyed needles were made from European metal, including some of brass. In form these demonstrate the influence of the older bone types.

HOUGHTON, FREDERICK. *The migrations of the Seneca nation* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 2, April-June, 1927, pp. 241-250).

The migrations of the Seneca since the seventeenth century are facts of history. In this article the author uses archaeological evidence to trace out the earlier movements of this important tribe.

JENNESS, D. *Notes on the phonology of the Eskimo dialect of Cape Prince of Wales* (International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 4, No. 2-4, January, 1927, pp. 168-180).

This is a comprehensive study of the phonetics and sound changes in several of the western Alaskan dialects, of considerable value in a comparative study of Eskimo linguistics.

KENTON, EDNA. *The Indians of North America*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1927. Two vols., pp. 597 and 579.

To be reviewed later.

LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Humour in Canadian Indian art* (Canadian Homes and Gardens, Vol. IV, No. 6, June, 1927, p. 42 and p. 62).

Contrary to popular belief, the Indian is neither grave nor taciturn. The author gives examples of native humour in their daily life, puns, mythology, clowns, practical joking, and humorous masks.

MACLEOD, WILLIAM CHRISTIE. *Trade restrictions in early society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 2, April-June, 1927, pp. 271-278).

Examples drawn from the practices of widely separated tribes, especially those in Canada, indicate that a struggle for markets was not unknown in aboriginal America. This led to various trade restrictions and to a "commercial exploitation of the weak by the strong."

MADISON, HAROLD L. *Indian homes* (Pocket Natural History, No. 2, Anthropological Series, No. 1, The Cleveland Museum of Natural History, Cleveland, Ohio, 1925, pp. 38).

This is one of an admirable series of pamphlets, small enough to be carried in the pocket, yet containing a surprising amount of information arranged conveniently, fully illustrated with maps and diagrams, and including a useful bibliography for the serious student. The Canadian Indians used snow houses, double lean-tos, plank dwellings, earth covered pits, skin tents, and bark houses; the distribution of each type is recorded as well as the method of construction.

MONTANDON, GEORGE. *Craniologie paléosibérienne* (L'Anthropologie, Tome XXXVI, No. 5-6, 1927, pp. 447-542).

This important article, containing many tables and figures, deals with the ethnic relations of the peoples of north-east Siberia. It throws considerable light on the anthropology of the Eskimo.

MORANT, G. M. *Studies of palaeolithic man* (Annals of Eugenics, Vol. I, April, 1926, pp. 257-276).

A well illustrated study on the points of resemblance between the Eskimo and the Chancelade type of palaeolithic Europe. Valuable measurements are given and analysed mathematically.

MORICE, A. G. *Disparus et survivants* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 20, Nos. 4 and 5, sept.-dec., 1926, pp. 199-221).

A critical study of the views of Le Conte concerning the settlement of America, followed by an historical and ethnological account of the Natchez Indians, formerly inhabiting Mississippi.

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*Disparus et survivants* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 21, No. 1, jan.-fev., 1927, pp. 11-49).

An account of the Mandan of the upper Missouri valley, with many observations upon the early history of the North American Indians.

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*Disparus et survivants* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 21, No. 2, mars-avril, 1927, pp. 65-85).

A series of comments concerning the ethnology and linguistics of various North American tribes, especially the Eskimo and the Déné. The author corrects numerous misstatements.

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*Disparus et survivants* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 21, No. 3, mai-sept., 1927, pp. 129-164).

An account of the Choctaw Indians, with an essay on the Mound Builders and comments on theories concerning the early history of the Indians.

ORCHARD, WILLIAM C. *A Chilkat blanket and a Haida "copper"* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 1, January, 1927, pp. 33-40).

The art of the North Pacific Coast Indians, as portrayed on flat surfaces, consists of highly conventionalized representations of animals, birds, and mythical creatures. The technique is well illustrated in the two specimens described. The first is a Chilkat blanket, woven of cedar bark and mountain-goat wool, decorated with an octopus design. The second is a Haida "copper", a copper plaque of ceremonial value, painted to represent a mythical sea-monster.

RASMUSSEN, KNUD. *Fra Grönland til Stillehavet; Rejser og Mennesker. Thule-Expedition*, 1921-24. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1925. Two volumes, pp. 464, 416.

Reviewed on page 247-251.

RIVET, P. *Les Malayo-Polynésiens en Amérique* (Journal de la société des Américanistes de Paris, Tome XVIII, 1926, pp. 141-278).

This is a forceful attempt to prove the affinities of the Austric-speaking peoples with the Hokan stock of western North America. Attention has repeatedly been drawn to striking resemblances, physical, ethnological, and linguistic, between various tribes in the two Americas and the inhabitants of the islands of the South Pacific. Rivet outlines this evidence, pointing out its weaknesses in many respects, and then compares the two linguistic stocks, both with respect to grammatical forms and vocabulary.

— *Le peuplement de l'Amérique précolombienne* (Scientia, Vol. XL, No. CLXXII-8, 1926, pp. 89-100).

Rivet combats the theory of racial homogeneity among the American Indians and gives anthropological, ethnological, and linguistic evidence to prove influences from various ethnic stocks of the Pacific.

SMITH, HARLAN I. *A prehistoric earthwork in the Haida Indian area* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 1, January-March, 1927, pp. 109-111).

This is a description of an unusual earthwork near Rose Point, Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Group, consisting of a series of regular rectangles, marked by low walls. Its purpose is entirely problematical.

SOLLAS, W. J. *The Chancelade skull* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LVII, January-June, 1927, pp. 89-122).

In 1888 there was discovered at Chancelade in the south of France a palaeolithic skull of Magdalenian age showing certain Eskimo characteristics. Largely on this evidence, it was assumed that the Eskimo were descended from these early Europeans who had followed the retreat of the ice cap. Sir Arthur Keith has recently attacked this point of view; Professor Sollas vigorously defends it by means of many detailed measurements of Eskimo skulls.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Family hunting territories of the Lake St. John Montagnais and neighbouring bands* (Anthropos, Band XXII, Heft 3, 4, May-August, 1927, pp. 387-403).

This article contains detailed information about the hunting rights and property concepts of several bands of south-western Montagnais of Quebec. In general features these are similar to those of other neighbouring Algonkian-speaking peoples; the account is valuable for its description of a little known area.

— *Huron hunting territories in Quebec* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 1, January, 1927, pp. 1-12).

In former times the Hurons, like their kinsmen the Iroquois, were divided into exogamic, matrilineal clans. About 1660 a considerable number of the tribe

moved to the vicinity of Quebec, where they were exposed to cultural influences from French Canadians and Algonkians, both patrilineal. This has resulted in a curious blending of patrilineal and matrilineal institutions, which Speck illustrates with regard to hunting territories.

SPECK, FRANK G. *River Desert Indians of Quebec* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 3, July, 1927, pp. 240-252).

The River Desert Indians, calling themselves "Farm River People", are a band of four hundred Eastern Algonquin inhabiting the upper part of the Gatineau valley. Their material culture gives evidence of long association in former years with the Iroquois at Lake of the Two Mountains, although its principal elements are unquestionably Algonkian, and akin to the Northern Ojibwa type.

VERRILL, A. HYATT. *The American Indian, North, South and Central America*. New York: Appleton. 1927. Pp. 485.

Reviewed on pp. 172-173.

WATERMAN, T. T. *The architecture of the American Indians* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 2, April-June, 1927, pp. 210-230).

The author has previously written on the distribution of types of Indian houses. In this article he endeavours to reconstruct the probable evolution of architecture on this continent, assuming the circular dwelling to be the earliest form. A comprehensive and useful article.

WINTERBERG, W. J. *Was Hochelaga destroyed or abandoned?* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 2, April-June, 1927, pp. 251-254).

Between Cartier's visit in 1535 and Champlain's in 1603, the village of Hochelaga disappeared. The author shows that the evidence for its abandonment is as strong as that for its destruction, the usually accepted theory. A logical paper with detailed references.

WISSLER, CLARK. *Distribution of moccasin decorations among the Plains tribes* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXIX, Part I, 1927, pp. 23).

A study of the designs upon hard-soled moccasins, such as are found in the Plains area. The central tribes have the largest number of types, marginal groups have fewer. This distribution is well illustrated by tables and designs.

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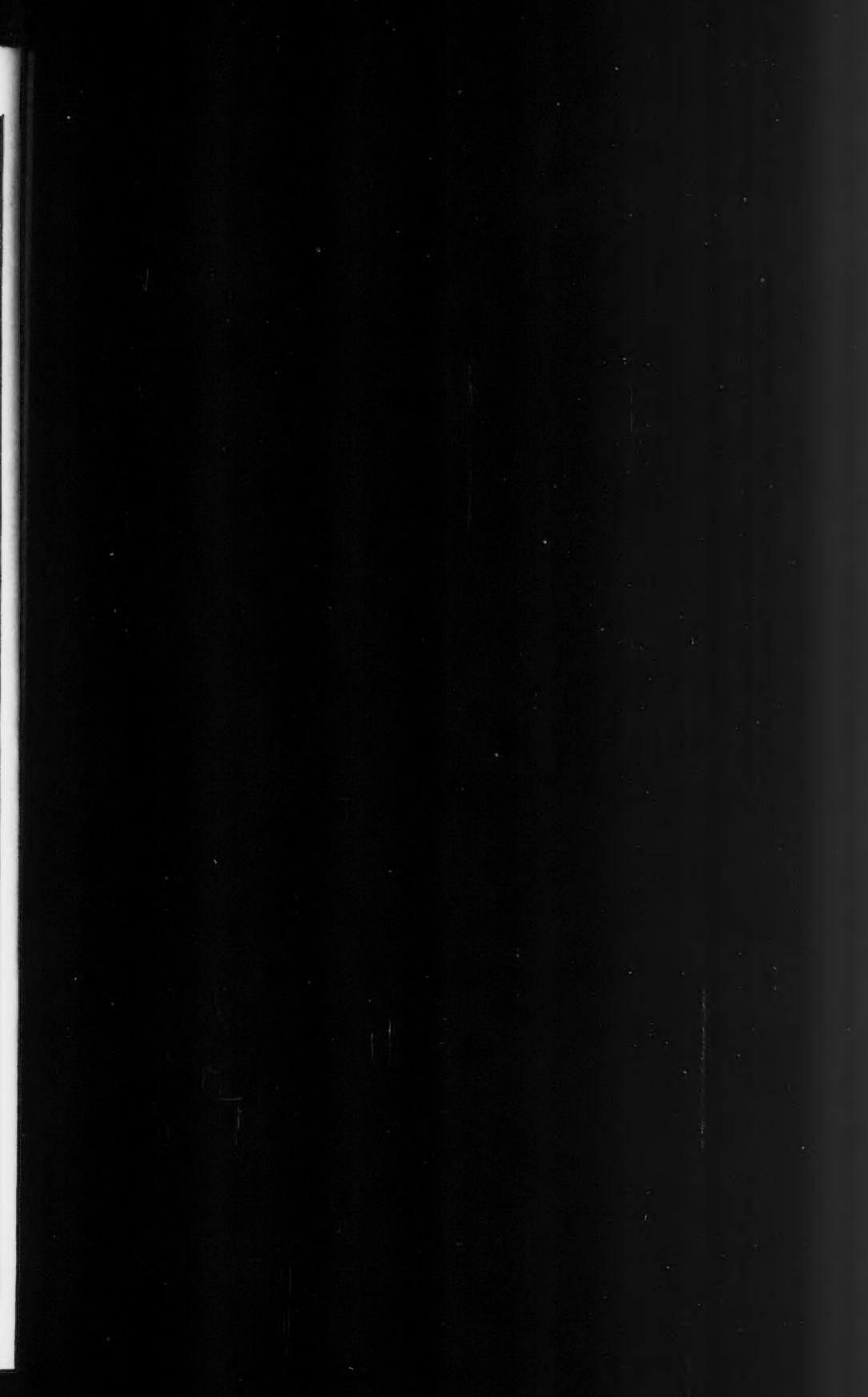
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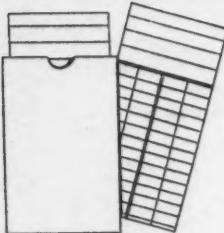
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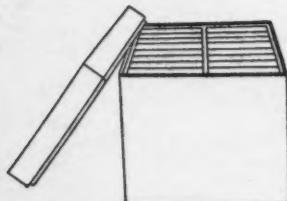




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